The Outlook

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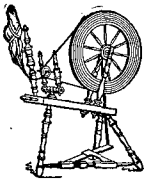
Registered  *Trade Mark*

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1907

The New Immigration Law

After a year of incubation a new immigration law has been hatched by Congress. It makes no great change in the policy of the United States in its dealings with incoming aliens. For the most part it merely either revises the phraseology of existing law or modifies existing methods of regulation. Some of its provisions, however, are important. The head tax on every immigrant is increased from two to four dollars. The "Immigrant Fund," which is the permanent appropriation out of which the expenses of the immigration service are paid, will thus be increased. Incidentally, too, some undesirable immigrants, in view of the increased cost, may be discouraged from applying for admission, though it seems to us doubtful whether this provision will prove a restrictive measure of any special value. The new law adds certain classes to those ineligible for admission, such as imbeciles and feeble-minded persons (who are not now legally included under the terms "idiots" and "insane persons"), persons afflicted with tuberculosis (which has not been construed as a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease), those who are mentally and physically defective so as to be incapable of earning a living, and girls and women entering the United States for immoral purposes. The new law also puts greater restrictions and responsibility upon the transportation companies; it requires of them a more detailed accounting for the passengers, and places upon them the cost of transporting not only those aliens suffering from physical disabilities which existed before emigration, but also all aliens entering the United States in violation of law and such as become public charges from causes which existed prior to landing. What is more important still, it requires the companies, by explicit directions, to provide more ample accommodations for steerage passengers than they are now forced to supply. In this respect the law not only protects America, but also humanely regards the comfort of aliens. That the law is not oppressive is shown by the fact that of the one hundred and seventy-five steamships that brought steerage passengers to New York during the last fiscal year, one hundred carried no more on any voyage than the new law permits. The only provisions which add any new feature to existing law are three. One is that which enables the President in his discretion to refuse to allow aliens to enter the continental territory of the United States from foreign countries (to which they have passports) or from the insular possessions of the United States or from the Canal Zone. As we indicated last week, this has special bearing on the Japanese immigration question, though it does not mention the Japanese by name. Another of these provisions is that which establishes a bureau of information for incoming aliens, in order to facilitate their proper distribution. This has long been needed; it has been urged by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, and, it is hoped, will do much to prevent the congestion of aliens in a few great centers, especially New York. It is in accordance also with the effort to direct immigration to the South, where it is especially needed. The third provision, which is potentially the most valuable of all, is that which creates a Commission to investigate the subject of immigration and to report its findings and recommendations to Congress. The Commission is to be composed of three Senators, three Representatives, and three persons to be appointed by the President. This provision also authorizes the President to call an international conference on immigration to secure the

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co-operation of the nations in dealing with the movement of people into the United States. This undertaking to treat the question of migration scientifically and comprehensively is more significant than any regulation in the law. If the investigating commission is well chosen and the international conference is wisely directed, they may lead to action of great moment to the whole civilized world.

❀

The Case of Senator Smoot

The Senate, on Wednesday of last week, by a vote of 43 to 27, defeated a resolution to declare vacant the seat of Senator Reed Smoot, of Utah, having previously declared by a still larger majority that a two-thirds vote was necessary to accomplish the object sought. In an editorial elsewhere are discussed the principles involved in this case. As the evidence taken before the Senate's committee many months ago was at the time rather fully reported in The Outlook, it seems right to summarize briefly here also Senator Smoot's speech of last week in his own defense. In it he declared that he was not and never had been a polygamist; that the doctrine of polygamy had never been obligatory, but only permissive; that only a small percentage of Mormons had ever been polygamists; and that the Church's manifesto discontinuing polygamy had been more widely circulated than the original revelation on marriage. When this manifesto was adopted, he said, there were 2,451 polygamous households in the Church, now there are not over 500; then among the Church's higher officials there were twenty-three polygamists and three monogamists, while of fourteen such officials chosen since only two were polygamists, and of seven apostles chosen since Mr. Smoot was made an apostle only one was a polygamist. As to those Mormons who had polygamous families before the manifesto, a general policy of forbearance, it was asserted, was avowedly accepted as desirable by prosecuting attorneys, and toleration was exercised by most people in Utah, Mormon and non-Mormon alike. Coming to the important question of polygamous marriages since the manifesto, Mr. Smoot admitted that some have taken place (usually in Mexico or Canada), but said that they were rare and had not received sanction or encouragement from the Church, and put himself on record personally in these words:

> I have no hesitation in declaring to the Senate and to the American people that, in my opinion, any man who has married a polygamous wife since the manifesto should be prosecuted, and, if convicted, should suffer the penalties of the law, and I care not who the man might be, or what position he might hold in the Church; he should receive the punishment pronounced by the law against his crime.

Referring to treasonable obligations alleged to form a part of the Mormon endowment ceremonies, Senator Smoot said: "There does not exist in the endowment ceremonies of the Mormon Church the remotest suggestion of hostility or of antagonism to the United States or to any other nation." He pointed to the loyalty of Mormon soldiers who had taken these endowment oaths in the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and that in the Philippines; and, for himself, solemnly declared that "in every vote and action as United States Senator I shall be governed in the future, as I have been in the past, only by my convictions of what is best for the whole people of the United States, under my oath to support the Constitution and laws of this Nation. . . . I owe no allegiance to any church, or other organization, which in any way interferes with my supreme allegiance in civil affairs to my country—an allegiance which I freely, fully, and gladly give."

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A Palpable Injustice

On February 16 the House passed a bill (H. R. 24,987) to authorize the sale of about one million acres of the Rosebud Indian Reservation in Tripp County, South Dakota; and its sponsors are endeavoring to get it rushed through the Senate. The bill stipulates that $6 per acre shall be paid for any of the land filed upon within three months after the tract is opened for settlement, $4.50 per acre during the succeeding three months, and thereafter at the rate of $2.50 per acre. Readers of The Outlook may recall that three years ago, when

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it was proposed to open the Gregory County section of the Rosebud Reservation at the rate of $2.50 an acre, it was clearly shown in an article by Mr. George Kennan (February 27, 1904) that the land in question was worth at least double that amount. The agitation resulted in a compromise price of $4 per acre. Most of that land is now valued at from $15 to $20 per acre and upwards. Tripp County immediately adjoins Gregory County, and, in addition to the fertile quality of the soil, its value has not been lessened by the extension of railways to the borders of the reservation. Manifestly, the Government, as guardian, is under obligation to see that its wards get full market value for their property—a conception of the obligation of Congress successfully urged by Commissioner Leupp in framing a law authorizing the sale of 505,000 acres of Kiowa lands in Oklahoma during the past year. In the sale of Indian tribal property the same principles of justice should be observed as are applied in the management of wards' estates in courts of probate. The Hon. M. E. Clapp, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, in a letter recently sent to the Indian Rights Association, says on this point:

> My own theory of opening these reservations is that the land should be sold to the highest bidder and the proceeds paid to the Indians. . . . I quite agree with you that the lands should be sold, and whatever they are worth—whatever they bring in the market—should go to the Indians, and I have favored this upon the opening of reservations since I have been a member of this Committee.

It is true that the report (No 7,613) on the bill submits an agreement signed by 705 of the 1,368 adult male Indians of the tribe—a few more than one-half. But under the treaty of 1868 any cession of lands to be valid must be agreed to by *three-fourths* of the adult members of the tribe; and Section 2,116 of the United States Revised Statutes also provides that no purchase or other conveyance of lands from any tribe shall be of any validity unless made by *treaty* or *convention* of the tribe. Consequently, as the necessary three-fourths of the male adults of the tribe have not agreed to the proposition, and as the names of many of those on the so-called agreement were secured under threats that if they did not sign it a bill would be passed that they might not like so well, the responsibility, whatever action is taken, rests with Congress. The Senate ought not to pass the present bill in its present form; it should either postpone action on the bill, or amend it so that an appraisement of the lands will be provided for prior to its disposal. Friends of justice and fair play would do well to send at once a protest against this bill either to the Hon. M. E. Clapp, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, whose letter quoted above shows that he is opposed to the bill, or to the President, who must assent to the bill if it is to become a law.

❀

Penny Wise Pound Foolish

The extraordinary spectacle is presented of the present session of the House of Representatives about to go out of existence, after voting eighty million dollars to provide for river and harbor exigencies, but refusing to vote three million dollars to provide for a proper continuous waterflow into those rivers and harbors. The water now comes in a flood or in scant supply. These phenomena have been caused by the wholesale cutting of trees without reforesting on the rivers' upper channels. The inevitable consequence is the loss of the spongy ground which would hold back the water, the denudation of mountain slopes, and the consequent erosion of the soil. The end is a land barren for all time. During the past fifteen years in New Hampshire, for instance, about ninety thousand acres have been completely denuded. The channels of the Merrimac and Connecticut are already affected, and the harbors are filling. The rivers are either flooded or comparatively dry. In either case there is damage. In the first case both crops and factories suffer—a single flood cost one Merrimac company a million dollars. In the second case navigation is impeded, for the sailing of boats is impracticable when the mills upstream close their dams and so withhold the water supply. But the State of

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New Hampshire is too poor to provide for a great State forest reserve. So is each of the Appalachian Mountain States where like conditions prevail. These two regions, North and South, are of wonderful beauty and should be preserved for their scenery alone; they are of equal value as health resorts, and fortunately are very accessible; and their timber resources are of singular worth, the White Mountains offering the last remaining vestiges of our primeval forests and the Appalachians containing a stand of hard woods unparalleled for variety. The waterflow over a great section is involved. This makes the question a National and not a State affair. Waterfalls and rapids are capable of producing large electric power. The disappearance of these forests will check the water supply of the five principal rivers of New England, on which her manufacturing interests depend, and of all the largest rivers south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. Fourteen States are thus directly interested. These facts have commended themselves to the Governors of every one of these States and have caused them strenuously to support the bill before Congress to establish forest reserves in the White and Appalachian Mountains. The Senate, to its lasting credit, unanimously passed the bill. It has also been unanimously recommended for passage by the House Committee on Agriculture, one of the largest committees. Finally, the bill enjoys in advance the President's approval. Why does it not come to a vote? Because the Speaker indicates that he will not vote for it in the Committee on Rules. He says: "To buy up half the Southern States is 'too big.'" He may be reminded that the floods in one year, 1902, caused a loss in the Southern States of $18,000,000, sweeping away cotton and saw mills and distributing silt over the farms. One wonders how the former "watch-dog of the Treasury" can take this position, especially on a measure likely to lessen the swollen River and Harbor Bill by much more than the $3,000,000 asked to purchase lands suited to National forest reserve purposes, to maintain the forests, and reforest the clearings. Only a few days are left of this session. If the bill does not now pass the House, it will again have to come before the Senate. But that is a small matter compared with the denudation, which will have rapidly extended, with irreparable damage to the water power and also to timber and agricultural interests. Moreover, the prices of land and timber are rapidly advancing, and the Government can never again act as advantageously as now. To awaken the appreciation of these facts in the Speaker's mind there is evidently needed all the power of public opinion.

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Justice for the Filipinos

The fact that the Filipinos will for the first time this year choose representatives for a legislature naturally suggests inquiry into the extent of their progress towards free institutions and the exercise of self-government. What the United States has done since peace and order were established is in a large way well known: it has, to quote a recent address by ex-Governor Ide, devoted itself "to the establishment of schools throughout the islands; to the introduction of over a thousand American teachers for the purpose of teaching the English language, and teaching the Filipinos how to teach; to the building of school-houses; to the organization of a civil service more rigid and more thorough than prevails in the United States or any State thereof; to the promotion of sanitation, bringing about a reduction of nearly one-half in the death rate of the city of Manila; to the thorough investigation of the methods of extermination of diseases of animals; to scientific work tending to the industrial prosperity of the people; to a reform in the currency; to a reorganization of the judiciary and legal procedure, such that justice is administered as promptly, honestly, and economically as in any State in our Union; to the building of roads and bridges; to the settlement of land titles; to ending long-standing agrarian difficulties by the purchase of land belonging to the religious bodies and the sale or lease thereof to the tenants or occupants; to reforms in taxation, whereby a multitude of petty taxes which fell upon the poor and the weak have

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been removed and the burden transferred largely to tobacco and alcoholic products; to the introduction of new railroads and the improvement of inter-island transportation by water; to the organization of municipal, provincial, and central governments, such that the element of local autonomy forms the best of schools for training in the arts of government; to diffusing a common language, with which to unite all parts of the archipelago together; to teaching the people how to maintain good order; to keeping the government solvent and able to pay its own expenses." It is equally true that the Filipinos have in some ways shown themselves glad to profit by these opportunities, and have been especially eager to send their children to our schools. They have also increasingly recognized the good faith and unselfish purpose of the American occupation. So that Judge Ide sees reason to feel confident that in the Philippines at least may be disproved Mr. Benjamin Kidd's assertion that "there never has been and there never will be, within any time with which we are practically concerned, such a thing as good government, in the European sense, in the tropics, by the natives of those regions."

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What Remains to be Done

But our task is very far from completion. For instance, Judge Ide points out that school provision can be made for only half a million children, while a million and a half are clamoring for admission to the schools. At present, he holds, the great lack of the Filipino people is a middle class. "There is a small, very small, body of highly educated people, some of them educated abroad, a mere handful, and then there is the great mass of untrained, uneducated, and ignorant people, and between the two classes there is a tremendous chasm yet to be filled." To meet fully such problems as this of education is impossible for the simple reason that the Philippine Government is poor. And it is poor because Congress refuses to do justice to the Philippines in the matter of the tariff. There is still an opportunity for this session of Congress to take the action urged upon it again and again by the President and by all friends of a right policy in the islands. The export tax on hemp, Judge Ide declares, has taken between one and two million dollars from the poverty-stricken insular treasury and employed it for the benefit of the cordage trust; the coastwise shipping law has extended a doctrine wise in itself and for our own coastwise trade to a situation where it can work only hardship and injustice; the prohibitive tariff on sugar and tobacco is not only "a monstrous injustice," but gives the Filipino "the feeling that the American colonies had when subjected to discriminating and ruinous trade regulations by Great Britain." These are the words of an administrator and organizer of recognized ability and of six and a half years' experience in the Philippines. If the views they express are not just and sound, Congress should have the courage to state that fact and refuse to act upon them; if the views are right, then Congress should be ashamed of reasonless inaction.

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Business Principles in Public Business

Governor Hughes, of New York, has given another striking example of the straightforward, businesslike methods which he is employing in his administration. He requested the resignation of Otto Kelsey, the State Superintendent of Insurance. Mr. Kelsey declined to resign, saying that he had faithfully performed the duties of his office, and that his department was prepared to give the Governor the most cordial, disinterested, and effective cooperation. Under the law he could be removed from office only by the Senate, upon the recommendation of the Governor. Before making this recommendation Mr. Hughes called the Superintendent before him for a hearing, held the hearing in the audience-room of the executive suite, which was open to the public, and, before a large audience, subjected the Superintendent to a searching cross-examination which revealed that Mr. Kelsey had not even read in full, much less mastered, the report of the

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Armstrong Committee on the conditions in the insurance companies, and had kept in office two subordinates who had been shown by the report to have been grossly derelict in duty. He protested that he had not had time to "clean house," although he had been in office eight months. The hearing showed not only incompetency on the part of Mr. Kelsey, but utter inability to appreciate his shortcomings. This condition of mind was further emphasized by his supplementary statement sent to the Governor after the hearing. After giving him ample opportunity to defend his administration of the department, Governor Hughes sent a message to the Senate asking for his removal, and there appears to be very little reason to doubt that the Senate will approve the Governor's course, as it has been already approved by the press and people of the State. Mr. Kelsey has had an excellent political record; there is no question of his personal integrity; he took with reluctance the office to which he was appointed by Governor Higgins. But the appointment was a political, not a business, appointment. He had honesty, business ability, and party loyalty; but there was no reason to suppose that he had either the special training or the peculiar talent which sometimes serves in lieu of training, to reorganize the Insurance Department of the State and institute a new policy of insurance management. The incident emphasizes the inadequacy of political appointments for business positions in an era in which the State is undertaking the conduct of great business operations. Governor Hughes has practically recognized the new era by applying to the public service the principles which any good business man would observe in his private business, and making ability to discharge the duties of a business office the primary and indispensable qualification.

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Ferryboat Whistling

The law and rules of 1897 concerning steamboat whistling in our Atlantic and Pacific harbors are being increasingly and gratifyingly observed. This is specially evident in New York harbor. Across it travel 199,000,000 out of the 261,000,000 passengers transported in the harbors from our northern boundary to the Delaware Capes. In a comparatively few years the able and efficient Supervising Inspector at New York, Captain Ira Harris, has evolved order out of former chaos and has induced compliance with the laws and rules from all but one of the companies operating ferryboats in New York harbor. The Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Company persists in using a system of its own, not only defying the regulations which are a part of the law of the land under Act of Congress, but disarranging the service of other and law-abiding companies, the Erie, for instance, whose president has properly protested to the Inspection Bureau against allowing such defiance. It is not surprising that the Lackawanna boats have met with more collisions than have any others. One of them occurred last summer, the other vessel being an excursion steamer. The Inspector ordered the suspension from service for a hundred days of the pilot of the ferryboat. On his return from an inspection of the New England harbors, Captain Harris found that the Lackawanna Company was evading the suspension. The pilot was still practically acting, though the reports of trips were not signed by him. Thereupon Captain Harris definitely suspended the pilot, who had been performing duty without a license. Furthermore, the Bureau of Steamboat Inspectors charged the superintendent of the Lackawanna ferries, the company's counsel, and a third person with attempting to nullify the Supervising Inspector's order. At the ensuing hearing Captain Harris discovered that the company's counsel was taking an active part in the investigation in which that counsel was to be a witness. The counsel claimed that the company could employ any lawyer it desired. Captain Harris promptly adjourned the case to obtain a ruling on this point from the Department of Commerce. The whole matter has now been referred to the Attorney-General of the United States. The case illustrates the cynical defiance, not only of law and order, but also of neighborliness, by a great corporation, whose president's only

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defense is that his pilots are not members of the American Association of Masters, Mates, and Pilots! This same railway president, Mr. Truesdale, has been deprecating what he considers to be the popular hostility to railways. If he seeks for a reason for such hostility, he need not look for it on other railways' premises. The fact is, there is no animosity toward railways as such; but there is a growing impatience with those railways which appeal to the Government for protection but ignore or resist Governmental restraint.

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The Philadelphia Election

The Mayoralty election in Philadelphia has been concluded by the victory of Congressman John E. Reyburn, the Republican candidate, by a majority of 33,000 over William Potter, the City Party candidate, who received 97,000 votes. The successful candidate has had a long public career, although he has never served in municipal office. He was formerly a member of the State Senate at Harrisburg, and latterly has served as Congressman at Washington. He is a man of large personal means and of excellent personal character, but the fact that he was backed by McNichol and Vare, two of the largest city contractors in Philadelphia, led to his being called "the contractors' candidate." He has asserted, however, both before and since his election, in the most unequivocal terms, that he is not under any obligations to any leader, and that he intends to give Philadelphia a business administration of its affairs. The City Party nominee, the Hon. William Potter, was formerly Minister to Italy under President Harrison, and has been actively identified with the City Party and with the various movements that clustered around the independent fight in Philadelphia since Mayor Weaver's break with the Republican organization in May, 1905. The success of the Republican candidate has been variously explained and interpreted, but one fact stands out prominently, and that is the tremendous influence of an effective organization. The machinery of the Republican party has been maintained intact and has been kept at a high point of efficiency, and its effectiveness has been demonstrated, first, in securing a large registration of its voters, and, secondly, in having its voters marshaled at the primaries; at the primaries 98,000 votes were polled for the various Republican candidates, and again on the day of election 130,000 men recorded their preference for Mr. Reyburn. While the City Party has maintained an admirable organization, it had to depend in most instances upon the voluntary efforts of men who had other business than politics. The consequence was that it suffered from its inability to reach the voters and bring them out. Another factor which seems to have contributed to the success of the Republican candidate lay in the defection and inaction of the Democrats. While they nominated Mr. Potter on their ticket, no effort was made by them to bring out their voters, and this inactivity had its natural effect in diminishing the support accorded to the City Party candidates. The election, like that of last fall, was generally conceded to be honestly conducted, owing to the effectiveness with which the Personal Registration Law has been enforced. The Mayoralty primary on January 26 was the first held under the new Uniform Primaries Act passed a year ago by the special session of the Pennsylvania Legislature. The result was the largest vote ever polled at a primary election, but the candidates nominated were those favored by the leaders of the respective party organizations. The City Party made a considerable gain in both branches of Council, electing a number of first-class men. Among those elected to the Common Council was George Burnham, Jr., of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, and for many years Treasurer of the National Municipal League. A number of other men of good character were chosen at the same time, thus insuring a more careful consideration of municipal questions in the municipal legislature.

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The House of Lords an Elective Body?

In the House of Lords last week Lord Newton introduced a bill proposing the reconstitution of the House on a partly elective basis.

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He seeks to remove the excessive preponderance of hereditary peers by stipulating qualification through service to the State *or previous election*, and provides for a certain number of elected peers and for the nomination by the Crown of life peers, these not to exceed one hundred in number. Thus the Lords might cleverly forestall the expected reform of their House to be proposed in the Commons. Actual conditions, from the Liberal standpoint, were recently described by the Attorney-General of the present Cabinet when he declared that the House of Lords was entirely out of harmony with modern democratic institutions and must go down. Whether anything of it would be left, and, if so, in what form, could not yet be determined. If the House of Lords set itself against the national will, it would be like a heap of sand setting itself against the rising water. The Government would endeavor to give effect to the will of the people, he said, by means of bills, which the Peers would promptly throw out, and that would lead to a combination between the Crown and the people to defeat the aristocracy. It would mean a rearrangement of constitutional and political forces and a struggle of no slight difficulty. In the meantime there would be pressing and urgent legislation that would not brook delay, and the Government would undertake such legislation with a determination to carry it through in spite of all opposition. All this is very well, but what if the House of Lords reforms itself into a semblance, for instance, of the Upper Houses of Italy or Prussia, where the hereditary element is comparatively small? We hope that such a change will take place; indeed, that the House of Lords will ultimately resemble our own Senate. But it must be trying to the Liberals to see their thunder stolen by Lord Newton's clever bill.

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Why the New Duma is Radical

The Duma is the lower house of the Russian Parliament organized last year under the Emperor's Freedom Decree of 1905. The first Duma was summarily dissolved by the Emperor and elections ordered for a new Duma to meet in March, 1907. The elections are not yet completed. So far, more than four hundred members have been elected, leaving about a hundred still to be chosen. The extreme Radicals are to form the largest force which may be counted upon to act as one body. Their strength already exceeds two hundred members. They are divided into Revolutionist, Labor, Socialist, and Nationalist groups, the first two being ably represented by Mr. Tschaykoosky and Mr. Aladyin, now in this country. The Cadets, or Constitutional Democrats, who are moderate Radicals, have, by Government abuse of power, been reduced to seventy-odd members of those already chosen, but it is expected that their total will reach about a hundred. They stand sturdily, not for the chaos into which extremists would plunge the country, but for the grant of a liberal Constitution and for universal suffrage; in general skillful parliamentarians, they represent the most intelligent public opinion committed to a clear programme. The Moderates now poll about sixty members; these include the "Decembrists," who take their name from the martyrs for political liberty in the December, 1825, outbreak. The Conservatives so far number seventy-five. If this proves to be their full parliamentary strength, as their rivals claim, it will be seen how overwhelmingly the new Duma is to oppose the present Government. The first Duma was anti-bureaucratic; the second Duma is apparently anti-dynastic. Despite the Government's success in preventing the nomination of many men who had perhaps unwittingly laid themselves open to suspicion, the second Duma is more radical than the first. It was a tragic error to dissolve the first Duma. The Government has now a doubly difficult task, for if it could not deal with the demands of the first, how will it deal with those of the second? So grim is this exigency that there are already suggestions of possible rioting fomented by the reactionaries and of connivance by the authorities. This has received color through an outbreak at Odessa, where the notorious General Kaulbars is in charge. There are perhaps many reactionaries, driven to the wall, capable of organizing

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"pogroms," or massacres, like those which have already disgraced Russian civilization and made the name a by-word among the nations. But few will believe that Premier Stolypin or the Emperor would connive at this. If they were held back by nothing else, they would be by the fact that the enormous radical gain has as its cause not only political tyranny, but also the famine which has prostrated twenty to thirty millions of muzhiks or peasants. The accounts of the famine have aroused widespread sympathy. Last week The Outlook referred to the mission to this country of Mr. Nicolas Shishkoff on behalf of the Russian famine sufferers. Through his efforts a Russian Famine Relief Committee has been formed for the collection and forwarding of funds. Of this committee the treasurer is the Morton Trust Company, whose standing as American bankers insures the very best management of the finances; the chairman is Bishop Potter; the secretary is the Rev. S. J. Barrows, 135 East Fifteenth Street, New York City. In order to make the records exact it is requested that all communications and contributions be made through the secretary.

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War in Central America

One of the exasperating little wars between the southern republics of this continent has broken out between Nicaragua and Honduras. We use the word exasperating because it is both annoying and, to a certain extent, disheartening to the great nations of America to find that the smaller republics, such as those now engaged in controversy, disregard the counsel and admonition of those who may be called their elder brothers, who point out to them that such a dispute as the present is precisely the kind of thing that ought to be settled by arbitration. It is understood that only a week ago despatches were received in Washington indicating that peace between the two quarrelsome countries was assured, and that the urgent advice of the United States, Mexico, Guatemala, and other countries that the difference between Honduras and Nicaragua should be adjusted by arbitration had been accepted and that only a few details were left to be arranged. Soon, however, both sides began to accuse the other of violating the truce existing, and war was soon formally declared. The dispute between the two countries is essentially one of disagreement as to encroachments on disputed territory by one or the other country. President Zelaya, of Nicaragua, has personally cabled to the American papers that he was obliged to go to war because his small garrison on the frontier had been attacked by the force of Honduras, which looted, burned, and killed, and that, arbitration having been agreed upon, President Bonilla, of Honduras, had dissolved the court by withdrawing the Honduran arbitrator. From the capital of each of the two countries comes the assertion that its troops are marching on the capital of the other and will surely be victorious. It may be pointed out that when such ill-tempered and fiery countries as these two indulge in what seems to us at this distance a causeless war, we are apt to consider them as typical of Central and South American character and political life, forgetting for the moment that turbulent nations like Nicaragua, Honduras, and Venezuela might well be contrasted greatly to their disadvantage with such fine, progressive, and strong nations as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

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The Election of Dr. Judson

The selection of Dr. Harry Pratt Judson to succeed Dr. Harper as President of the University of Chicago was in reality a confirmation by the Board of Trustees of the choice of the faculties and students of the institution. It was also a promotion for services of great importance and a recognition of unusual equipment of ability and experience for the position. A graduate of Williams College, which has bred many university and college presidents, Dr. Judson began his professional career as a teacher in a school in Troy, New York, whence he was called, in 1885, to a professorship in the University of Minnesota. When the present University of Chicago was organized, in 1892, he accepted the chair of political science in the institution, with the rank and duties

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of Dean. He was at Dr. Harper's right hand during the years when the lines of a great university were being marked out, and an organization novel in many of its features and unique in its freedom from mere academic tradition was elaborated and perfected. Dr. Judson has been familiar with every stage of the evolution of the University and with all the details of its administration. The University of Chicago has entered on the second stage of its extraordinary career, and Dr. Judson is specially well equipped to give its organization solidity and its educational work thoroughness and efficiency. His wide interest and study in the fields of history, politics, and international law have preserved him from the narrowness that is the danger of the specialist; while his duties as Dean have kept him in vital touch with the life as well as with the work of the University.

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A New Liquor Law for South Carolina

The State Dispensary system by which South Carolina has for fourteen years regulated the liquor traffic has been abolished by the State Legislature. The result was anticipated when the policy of the State Government was determined by the State primaries last fall. Senator Tillman, who had instituted the State dispensary, argued for it vigorously during the campaign. He attacked the opponents of the system without mercy, and, it may be added, without much regard for ordinary good manners. His candidates, however, were defeated; and many believe that, if he had been confronted with a strong opposing candidate for his seat in the Senate, he would not have been himself re-elected. By means of the dispensary, the State itself, with the exception of a few manufacturers, was the sole dealer in liquors within its own borders. Officials of the State, with headquarters at Columbia, bought all the liquors that could be legally sold in the State, and from there disposed of them to the various local branches. These branches retailed the liquor; they were open during the daytime only. They were not drinking-places, as no liquor bought of them could be drunk on the premises. The large profit to private concerns, which is a stimulus to the sale and therefore to the consumption of liquor, was thus eliminated. Open saloons were as strictly contrary to law as in a prohibition State, and in practice were at least quite as rare. Whatever profits the State reaped were devoted to education. The profits of the retail dispensaries were divided between the county and the town in which the dispensary was placed. The opportunity for graft, however, was enormous. Whisky dealers could not be expected to neglect the chance to secure sales by offering valuable commissions to State employees. The people of the State became convinced that the State dispensary was a fountain of corruption, and they have now brought it to an end. This does not mean that there will be no more dispensaries in South Carolina. The twenty-five counties (out of forty-one in the whole State) which now have State dispensaries, and hereafter those counties which vote for the sale of liquor, will maintain dispensaries of their own; the counties which vote against the sale of liquor will have neither public dispensaries nor legalized private saloons. In other words, South Carolina has become a strictly local option State, though it differs from such local option States as New York and Vermont in limiting the option to that between sale by the county and no sale. The believers in State prohibition in South Carolina are very numerous; they will no doubt watch very critically the working of the new system. That it is more wholesome than the one it has superseded is hardly doubtful.

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The President on Academic Criticism

In an address before the members of the Harvard Union at Cambridge on Saturday of last week President Roosevelt drew the contrast between the healthful spirit of the well-trained man and the unwholesome temper of the academic mind. He found a common basis with his audience by taking the first illustration of his subject from college athletics. He contrasted the idle criticism of athletic abuses with

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healthful participation in vigorous sports as a means for the development of the democratic spirit and of the virtue of courage. He emphasized still more strongly the necessity of scholarship, contrasting routine with creative work. He then exhorted college men to take their part in the work of government:

> Above all, you college men, remember that if your education, the pleasant lives you lead, make you too fastidious, too sensitive to take part in the rough hurlyburly of the actual work of the world, if you become so over-cultivated, so over-refined that you cannot do the hard work of practical politics, then you had better never have been educated at all. . . . I want you to feel that it is not merely your right to take part in politics, not merely your duty to the State, but that it is demanded by your own self-respect, unless you are content to acknowledge that you are unfit to govern yourself and have to submit to the rule of somebody else as a master—and this is what it means if you do not do your own part in government.

With the theorists who "gather in parlors to discuss wrong conditions which they do not understand and to advocate remedies which have the prime defect of being unworkable," Mr. Roosevelt made it plain that he had little patience. The trouble with them was, he pointed out, that they met no one but themselves, refused to mingle with their fellows, and cultivated "a curiously impotent spirit of fancied superiority."

> In popular government results worth having can only be achieved by men who combine worthy ideals with practical good sense. . . . It is a very bad thing to be morally callous, for moral callousness is disease. But inflammation of the conscience may be just as unhealthy so far as the public is concerned. . . .

That he was speaking out of experience Mr. Roosevelt made clear by his concluding remarks. He illustrated his point by reference to the critics of the Philippine policy of the Government; and with regard to much of the opposition to the policy of Federal control of corporations he had these things to say:

> There has been a curious revival of the doctrine of State rights in connection with these questions, by the people who know that the States cannot with justice to both sides practically control the corporations, and who therefore advocate such control because they do not venture to express their real wish, which is that there shall be no control at all. . . .
>
> Honest and fair-dealing railway corporations will gain and not lose by adequate Federal control; most emphatically it is both the duty and the interest of our people to deal fairly with such corporations, and to see that a premium is put upon the honest management of them, and that those who invest in them are amply protected. . . .
>
> Our present warfare is against special privilege. The men—many of them, I am sorry to say, college men—who are prompt to speak against every practical means which can be devised for achieving the object we have in view—the proper and adequate supervision by the Federal Government of the great corporations doing an inter-State business—are, nevertheless, themselves powerless to so much as outline any plan of constructive statesmanship which shall give relief. I have watched for six years these men, both those in public and those in private life, and though they are prompt to criticise every affirmative step taken, I have yet to see one of them lift a finger to remedy the wrongs that exist. So it is in every field of public activity. States' rights should be preserved when they mean the people's rights, but not when they mean the people's wrongs; not, for instance, when they are invoked to prevent the abolition of child labor, or to break the force of the laws which prohibit the importation of contract labor to this country; in short, not when they stand for wrong or oppression of any kind or for national weakness or impotence.

This address is a capital illustration of the President's method of reporting not only his acts but also his principles of action to the American people, and thereby clarifying and solidifying the public opinion on which as President he depends.

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Lenten Meditations

Daily Bread

"Give us this day our daily bread" is first of all a recognition of the divine origin of our normal human cravings. Self-denial for its own sake is not Christian. There is no virtue in treating such human cravings as of themselves evil. It is God who has placed within us what psychologists call the food instinct; and it is God who has filled the world with those things that will feed his children. Instead of lashing the appetite, we are bidden by Christ to ask God that the appetite be rightly satisfied. And if this is true of hunger for food, it is also true of the desire for other material things.

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The Lord's Prayer is not a piece of hardened ritual; it is a suggestive collection of typical petitions. As we are bidden to pray for our daily bread, so ought we to pray for all that can sustain and strengthen us. Our clothes, our lands, our books, our money, all are of God; and from him we should be ready to ask for such as our daily needs require.

But this petition is not one of self-indulgence. The request that we have made, "Thy will be done on earth," is to interpret and direct our petition for the satisfaction of all our desires. When we pray, "Give us our daily bread," we really ask God but for what is needful that we may be enabled to do his will on earth. The Douay version translates this petition, "Give us this day our supersubstantial bread," and the Roman Catholic Church interprets this as a plea for the sacramental grace that is bestowed in the Eucharist. Can we not say that it is a plea for that spiritual strength which God is ready to bestow by means of all his gifts? There is no material thing which, if we use it rightly, may not have for us a "supersubstantial," a spiritual, value. This for us is the test by which to determine whether the good things of life are for us really good or not. This is the test which Christ himself applied. He neither condemned nor approved bread or clothing or shelter, houses or books or riches, as such. He used them or disregarded them as they were instruments or obstacles in his doing of his Father's will. He who made wine for a wedding feast, himself rejected, when feverish on the cross, the proffered wine and myrrh. He who sent away the young man who would not renounce all his possessions, himself wore a fine garment and made friends and disciples of the rich. He who refused to make food to satisfy his own hunger in the wilderness, himself fed the faint multitude and taught his disciples to pray for bread. By his life he has shown in what spirit we should pray that our own desires be fulfilled.

Art which corrupts and corrodes is not food that we can ask of God; but art which liberates the imagination and invigorates the spirit is of that daily bread for which we may pray. Wealth which becomes an end in itself is no more food than a banquet is to a gourmand; but wealth which remains a means for human service is of that daily bread for which we may pray. Ritual and observances which leave the human spirit more faint-hearted in the midst of human misery that must be fought and human imperfections that must be corrected are not food from the Father of men, even though they be accompanied by fasting; but every ancient collect and every churchly celebration which imparts energy to us in the bearing of our own and others' burdens is daily bread that we may seek with prayer. If we have not the spirit of him whose meat it was to do his Father's will, we shall find little sustenance in the most ample of possessions or the most pious of practices; but if we have his spirit, we may find in all our experiences an answer to the prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread."

"Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. . . Seek ye his kingdom, and these things shall be added unto you."

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The Smoot Case

Mr. Smoot has been retained in the Senate of the United States by the decisive vote of 43 to 27. Disregarding the purely political questions and the purely sentimental influences involved in this case—and both ought to be disregarded—the issues involved are four in number.

I. The Constitution provides that "no person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen." It has been contended that the Senate has no right to add to these qualifications; that it cannot exclude any one who possesses these three qualifications. In our judgment, there is no good ground for such contention. The Senate is not bound to admit to its membership a confessed or convicted criminal, or a man of flagrantly immoral character, or

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a man afflicted with a chronic loathsome and contagious disease, like some forms of leprosy. The larger right and duty of the Senate appear to us clearly expressed in the clause of the Constitution that "each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members." It cannot admit any one who does not possess the specified Constitutional qualifications, but it may exclude any one for any reason which in its judgment constitutes a proper and adequate disqualification for membership in the Senate.

II. Membership in a religious organization does not constitute a proper and adequate disqualification, whatever the religious organization may be. To exclude a man from the Senate merely because he is a Brahman, or a Mohammedan, or a Spiritualist, or a Mormon, would be clearly inconsistent with American principles and with the spirit of Article I. of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Refusing to admit a Mormon as a member of the Senate would not be technically prohibiting the free exercise of the Mormon religion, but it would be palpably in violation of the spirit of this provision.

III. There is no charge of immoral conduct or character against Mr. Smoot. He is not a polygamist. He cannot, therefore, be excluded on the ground upon which Mr. Roberts was excluded in 1900 from the House. He is not violating any law of the land or any fundamental moral principle. On the contrary, he appears to be a man of unquestioned purity and integrity of character.

IV. The formal charge preferred against Mr. Smoot by the majority of the Senate Committee was that he comes to the Senate, "not as the accredited representative of the State of Utah, . . . but as the choice of the hierarchy which controls the Church and usurps the functions of the State." In fact, Mr. Smoot is "the accredited representative of the State of Utah;" if he is also "the choice of the hierarchy," that is no reason why he should be refused his seat. That he belongs to a powerful religious organization which is also a powerful political organization constitutes no adequate reason for his exclusion. If it did, the same reason might be cited to exclude a Senator who belonged to any other religious organization which was accused of exerting a political influence. It might equally be cited for the exclusion of a Senator who belonged to a trades union or to a trust or to a political machine, and who was under suspicion of expecting to use his Senatorial power to aid the organization which had given him his election. A society might be avowedly organized for the purpose of destroying the Nation, and a representative of such a society should be refused a seat in either House; but there is no pretense that the Mormon Church is organized for any such treasonable purpose. Evidence that Mr. Smoot had taken an oath or made a pledge of hostility to the American Nation or of supreme allegiance to the Mormon Church, putting it above his allegiance to the Nation, would be good ground for excluding him from the Senate. But the vote of the Senate we take to be equivalent to its declaration that he has taken no such oath and made no such pledge.

We have not read all the evidence in this case: life is too short. But we have read with care the protest against Mr. Smoot's election signed by representatives of the "League of Woman's National Organizations" and presented to the Senate by Senator Dubois, of Idaho, and we find in it no reason stated that justifies their demand for Mr. Smoot's exclusion. They have not expressed and they cannot express too strongly the importance of protecting the purity of the home and the sanctity of the family. But this cannot be done by asking Congress to violate both the spirit of the Constitution and the principles of political justice. To refuse a seat in the Senate to a man of irreproachable moral character because he entertains a religious faith and is a member of a religious organization which are oppugnant to the judgment and conscience of a vast majority of the people of the United States does violate the spirit of the Constitution. To admit to all the rights

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and privileges of Statehood a Territory known to be dominated by an organization which is both ecclesiastical and political, and then refuse to allow such State to elect its own Senatorial representative as other States are allowed to elect theirs, does violate the principles of political justice. It was a mistake to admit Utah to Statehood; but that mistake cannot be rectified by refusing to her the prerogatives of Statehood now that she has been admitted. The way to counteract the evil influences of the Mormon Church is by educative and religious influences, and these can be effective only as they are accompanied by the most scrupulous regard for her Constitutional and legal rights.

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Better than an Income Tax

The exceedingly well balanced and comprehensive article on "The Income Tax" on another page is based on the tacit assumption that a tax is an enforced contribution from the members of the community and is necessary to pay the expenses of maintaining the government. Mr. Henry George and Mr. Thomas G. Shearman have maintained that if the State were put in possession of the property which properly belongs to the people, but which has now been taken possession of by individuals, no such contribution would be necessary; the income from this property would pay all the expenses of government. Whether this is true or not, it is certain that the burden of taxation would be greatly lessened if the people were allowed to receive a fair rental on property which is clearly theirs, but which private persons are very vigorously striving to get for their own use.

Mr. Brown's interesting and instructive article on "Punishing the Land-Looters," published in The Outlook of last week, stated that an acreage nearly equal to the whole area of Delaware, Connecticut, and Rhode Island combined had been *illegally* fenced in by private parties. Other mineral, forest, and grazing lands have been thrown open *legally* to settlement; that is, Congress has passed laws under which they are to be given away; and the President is urging that they be not given away, but be leased, and the rental paid into the United States Treasury, and bills to effect this result have been introduced into the Senate. We have no means of giving even an approximate estimate of the value of these lands. But the eager opposition of certain Congressmen to their retention by and for the people indicates that the value is very considerable.

There was reason for giving away small holdings to actual settlers who would use them for farms and build up populous communities; there is no reason for giving away millions of acres of mining, forest, and grazing lands to great corporations to exploit them for their stockholders and leave the lands unpopulated. These lands belong to the people of the Nation. If the Nation keeps them, the rentals would sensibly reduce National taxation.

Add to this property of the people which some Congressmen are so eager to give away, the railway franchises. The tracks, cars, engines, and terminals of the railway corporations are private property. But the strip of land over which the road runs is, or ought to be, the property of the people. The Interborough Railway Company pays the city of New York a rental for the use of the subway. That is inherently just and right. If the great inter-State commerce railways paid the Nation or the several States a rental for the strip of land which they have taken for their roadbed, this again would sensibly reduce the necessity for taxation. And this rental can be collected in the form of a tax on the railway—not on its track, its cars, its engines, and its terminals, but on its right of way.

If the people can keep the mineral, forest, and grazing lands which belong to them and can get a landlord's rent for them, and if they can recover from the railway corporations in the form of a franchise tax a fair rental for the right of way which the State has given them, there would be no need of an income tax. If the workers in the community can come by their own, they will not need to levy a contribution on their own

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industry in order to secure protection for their persons and property.

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A Double Lesson

In one week two notable railway disasters have occurred, both apparently due to the same cause—excessive speed in rounding a curve. They disgraced, not impecunious, single-track roads in sparsely settled regions, but the two wealthiest and most prominent of American railways, running through thickly settled districts.

The first accident took place on the Harlem division of the New York Central; the second on the main division of the Pennsylvania. In the first, twenty-three persons were ground to death, and over a hundred were injured; in the second no passengers were killed but many were injured. The Harlem train was an electric local; the Pennsylvania train was the famous eighteen-hour Chicago special, the regular running time of which is nearly a mile a minute. The Harlem train was six minutes late, the Pennsylvania train was between half an hour and an hour late. Both engineers naturally wanted to make up time, and both trains were running at excessive speed, if we may believe the testimony of those traveling on them; the Harlem train was thought by passengers to be going at the rate of seventy miles an hour, and some passengers had already become alarmed; the Pennsylvania train was probably running at equal or greater speed. When both trains reached the sharp curves, the one just beyond Woodlawn Cemetery, the other following the bank of the Conemaugh River, near Johnstown, the speed, it is alleged, caused the last cars to leave the track, dragging the others off.

This is the probable explanation. The railway companies claim, however, in the one case, that a bolt may have been dropped from the preceding train, in the other that the brake rigging may have broken under a forward car, and in both cases that a rail was found out of alignment. The last claim is justified, but the cause was probably the pressure of the train itself upon the rail at the sharp curve. If speed and weight are greater than they can bear, rails will spread. The Harlem train was drawn by two motors. Each weighed nearly a hundred tons. While the two were hardly longer than a large locomotive, the total weight was about a third more. Again, the two motors were not only heavier but were capable of higher speed than the ordinary locomotive. The passenger cars were not steel, as they might well have been, but were old-fashioned light wooden cars such as could easily be thrown from the tracks and take fire as they did; the Pennsylvania cars were fortunately heavy, solid Pullmans, and to this is due the almost miraculous saving of life.

The New York Central had just established its electric service on the Harlem Branch; indeed, the wrecked train was making its second trip. But did newness of service insure caution? According to the testimony in the coroner's investigation, the engineer in charge had been employed by the company as a motorman only since February 1; the first day he ever ran an electric motor on a passenger train was a week before the accident; he had no speedometer; he was ignorant of the distance in which he could stop a train; he had never been informed by his superior as to the possible maximum speed of his engine and its exact power; finally, the Assistant Superintendent of the road did not reprimand him for speed, though with him at the time in the cab! According to the testimony at the State Railway Commission's investigation, no trains had been operated to test the line, barring one night, before the public service was begun; the motormen were instructed in their duties solely on a short run of track where there were no curves; there was no way by which motormen could know just how fast they were going; lastly, the engineers confessed that they did not know precisely what effect the use of the two motors would have, or what would be the precise pressure on the rails with an increase of weight and speed!

Why did not the New York Central company send its engineers to Schenectady, where the motors were made, to have the benefit of a fortnight's work on the test track there? Why did not the

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company, following the New York City Subway's example, operate its line for a month before opening it to the public? Why did not the company, if it had to begin public service at once, at least employ experienced men? The ignorance which the men showed in the investigations is enough to make one afraid to travel on any railway, if such conditions must characterize our best roads. Indignation mingles with grief at the revelations of the past week.

To this must be added the sense of shame that we do not enjoy the advantage of the Government supervision which for many years has prevailed in England. That supervision affords remarkable immunity from such disasters as compared with any immunity enjoyed here. The past year's record of railway accidents has been the most dreadful in our history. Had there existed the supervision and authority of a Bureau of Railways similar to the English, the Harlem horror and many another would probably not have occurred. The English Bureau forms a department of the Government Board of Trade. When an accident takes place, the mute but reliable witnesses afforded by the wreck are not allowed to be immediately cleared away, as they are here: their testimony may be of vital importance in the Government investigation at once instituted. The Bureau not only fixes the responsibility for the disaster and prescribes remedies against a repetition, such recommendations having the force of law, but it also supervises every introduction of a new system of service. When the Birkenhead tunnel tramway under the Mersey River at Liverpool was electrified, the company's long experimental trial of the motive power was supervised by officials of the Bureau; nor was the railway allowed to be opened to the public until authorized as safe by the Government. Thus the English Bureau's success has been not only in investigating the comparatively rare railway accidents in England as contrasted with our record, but even more in *preventing* them. The Bureau stimulates the English railways, as by a moral tonic, to provide for more intelligent and effective service than exists here.

How long shall America lag behind England? Shall we not inaugurate such a system? Coroners' investigations do something; State Railway Commissions' investigations do more. But every State has not a Railway Commission. Besides, there is needed the exclusive service of trained men more expert than any coroner or any State Railway Commissioner could be. Will not Congress duplicate the English Bureau by a Bureau in our Department of Commerce, or by a distinct service in our Inter-State Commerce Commission, paying ample salaries to secure the best experts? Congress has distinguished itself in the domain of railway legislation—it has provided for proper freight rates. But must there be another railway massacre to convince it that it has failed in a more elemental duty—to provide for the preservation of human life?. Only a few days are left of its own life. Will it heed, as by a deathbed repentance and resolution?

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The Spectator

As the Spectator opens his daily mail and reads in letters and newspapers of the severe weather experienced in the East, he is thankful that kind Providence has made him of late a resident of Riverside, that beautiful and thriving little city in the orange belt of California. Though the California climate may not always be all that he expected, he compares existing conditions as he finds them here with weather reports from other localities, and can appreciate his blessings and minimize his discomforts. If his ardor has been dampened by days and even weeks of rain, his spirits have been brighter and his enthusiasm greater when, by contrast, the days of sunshine and balmy air have been given him. He had been led by excessive optimists to believe that cloudless skies and perpetual sunshine would be his portion so long as he might choose to remain within the enchanted State. Other spectators, however, had mentioned in an incidental way, between bursts of enthusiasm, that California was subject to all sorts of weather, barring, of course, snow-storms and blizzards, and

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that one must expect rain even out of the rainy season, as well as frost and ice in the early morning when the thermometer may register from fifty to sixty at noon of the same day. *This* Spectator was, therefore, in a measure prepared for the varieties of California weather that he has now experienced for himself.

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The Spectator has been told that the excessive rainfall of the present season is unusual; that not for fifteen years has the amount been in any one winter what it has been up to the first of February of 1907. The Spectator's object, therefore, of knowing what the climate of California is like during the winter season is defeated, and if he would really know it as it is in all its varying aspects he must come several winters in succession and thereby strike a happy average, as well as be a better judge of its mingled virtues and defects. As the Spectator has sometimes been wicked enough to exult over some slight fault or frailty in a friend whose superiority has been somewhat galling though praiseworthy, he is at the present time glad to see this wonderful and rightly praised country when not on its best behavior. It teaches him that nothing is perfect, not even the climate of California, and that the greatest blessings to mankind oft come in disguise; for as a result of this unusual season of rain the grain crop of the State will be enormous. To the ranchman there has been no disguise in this blessing of the rain.

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There have been days—and many of them in succession—when rain or gray skies have been largely in evidence. No driving through the orange district; no exploring of the neighboring foothills for those who can take long walks; no opportunity for the kodak operator to take his "snap-shot" picture—*nothing* in the way of outdoor pursuits and pleasures. But when the sun does shine, and the sky is blue, and the well-oiled roads permit the Spectator again to pursue his wanderings, he forgets all about those other days with their all-pervasive chill and dampness, and agrees with the "oldest inhabitant" that there can be no place on the face of the earth where one may find more enjoyment and less that is undesirable than right here in Southern California. If he growled a little because his plans were interfered with, or made ironical remarks about his overcoat left in an Eastern closet, he has been forgiven because of his willingness to praise all the beauties and virtues of the country disclosed to him "between the acts," or, more correctly speaking, between the drops.

❀

And even under gloomy skies or through the glass of a rain-spattered window, the Spectator was willing to admit that Riverside is very beautiful. Her orange-trees are close at hand, in front door-yard and in back, on the sides of a house or surrounding it, and, in truth, the green, glossy leaves form a large part of the city's foliage. The graceful pepper-trees, with alternate palms, bordering so many of the streets, make the Spectator feel that he has indeed entered a garden of Eden, but in *this* garden the serpent is not in evidence.

❀

The Spectator has been much interested in a contrivance built into the roofs of houses here called a solar heater. Its object is to furnish hot water through the house on demand, said water to be heated by the rays of the sun. The Spectator has no knowledge of the mechanical part of the device—if there be any other than the legitimate rays of the sun—but he only knows—no, he has been told—that it is the simple working of the law of cause and effect: cause, sun; effect, hot water. Or, in reverse order; no sun, no hot water. The Spectator long failed to find a house in which this solar heater is placed where hot water has come on demand at such times as he demanded it, but he doesn't for one minute think of blaming the occupants of the houses, for that law of cause and effect is ever in his mind, and, knowing that there had been no sun, how could there be hot water? The only mystery to the Spectator has been why people continued to place solar heaters in their homes and

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consider them valuable as a means of furnishing hot water. He has gazed upon them from all sides, their skylights revealing their location in the roofs, and he has tried to see something ornamental about them which, aside from their utility, would justify their existence. But no artistic point is revealed to the Spectator, try as hard as he may to find it, and he is forced to fall back upon the original theory that the solar heater is a necessity, and if it fails in wet and cloudy weather, its virtue is none the less unimpaired.

❀

The Spectator, for the first time in his life, was away from his own table on Christmas Day. He prophesied a lonely time among strangers, the width of the continent between himself and his family, but to his great joy he was remembered by a family living twenty miles from Riverside, and invited to join them at their orange ranch. What cared the Spectator now for misty-moisty weather—some one had remembered his existence and called him from his solitary meal to the heart of a family on whom he had no claim except a friendship with relatives in the East. While traveling in the cars to the valley where the ranch is located, the Spectator recalled those words of a recent poem:

"Old friends are best, we lightly say,
But as they fall upon the way,
Keep full the ranks with newer friends,
Till time the adjective amends."

❀

A modern house in the midst of orange groves, superb views, congenial family, a Japanese cook in the kitchen, surely ought to fill one's soul with thankfulness; but when the Spectator felt the warmth of furnace heat and saw the blazing fire upon the hearth, he knew that he had what his body longed for, and his soul could wait for a warmer day to feed upon views of snow-topped peaks. He was told that the dinner hour was six-thirty, and as that time approached and he realized that he did not possess the appetite which would give zest to the meal that he was sure would be presented, he took himself out for a walk in order that the proper vacuum might be created. As he passed down the steps and by the rose-bushes, he stopped to pick some pink buds, as exquisite as would be found in June, and with these in hand he walked up the avenue of palms to the foothills lying back of the house. Here he wandered among the rocks, looking in vain for some slight sign of vegetation—a wild flower, a blade of grass, anything to relieve the bleak and barren aspect and make him believe he was on California soil. The sage stalks were dry and brown; the thistles were nearly all blown away; no grass was revealed, if ever there had been any, and but for the glimpse of the orange-trees, palms, and pepper-trees down at the ranch, he might have been walking this Christmas Day on the hills of his own New England town. But he looked at the rosebuds in his hand; surely he could not find those in his own home yard in the month of December. His gaze rested on the distant mountain ranges where the snow was catching a few passing gleams of sunlight, and, turning so that he could look further up the valley, he beheld a most perfect rainbow—so beautiful that that portion of the valley was bathed in its colors. The Spectator forgot the dinner awaiting him and cared for nothing but the beauty of the scene. Then came the other thought—how could this peculiar climate be described, with its rosebuds and early morning icicles, its snow-covered ranges and rainbows, its orange groves and furnace heat? "A paradoxical country," was all he could say.

❀

The dinner was all that a Christmas dinner should be, the pickled figs, ripe olives, and manzanita jelly giving new varieties of relish to the Spectator; but the one thing that made real to him the fact that he was eating a Christmas dinner at a California ranch was an act of his host that revealed the true instincts of a ranchman. The gentleman of the house had appeared at the table in full dress. His manner of serving had been irreproachable, but something else besides his guests and his dinner was on his mind. Excusing himself from the table as dessert was coming on, he stepped to the window, and there upon the lawn a small moving object

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caught his eye. In a second he was out of the room, and before his sudden disappearance could be questioned, the report of a gun told the story; he had shot a rabbit. The Spectator sighed for his kodak as he imagined the picture there presented—this immaculate Gibson gentleman poising his gun by moonlight for a shot at a rabbit.

❀

The Spectator has returned to Riverside and is now enjoying the fulfillment of prophecies set forth in guide-books. The sun shines, and the solar heater is no longer a misnomer, for it is living up to its reputation as a heater of water; violets scent the air from their low hiding-places; roses are beginning to bloom; oranges can be seen on all sides; the clouds have rolled by and the distant mountains are revealed in all their beauty; the foothills are putting on their spring dress of delicate green. All Nature smiles here in California, and the Spectator smiles, too, as he reads of snow and ice at the East; he has a sense of pity for those less fortunate mortals who did not hie away to this golden State of California early in the season.

MONTE CAVO

BY GIOSUÈ CARDUCCI

TRANSLATED BY ROBERT HAVEN SCHAUFFLER

In recording last week the death of the poet Carducci The Outlook said: "It seems strange that the foremost modern Italian poet should be comparatively little known abroad. This is because his style and versification practically baffle translation." Since those words were printed the following admirable English rendering of one of Carducci's most beautiful poems has been translated for The Outlook. Monte Cavo, anciently known as Mount Albanus, rises in the center of the Alban Mountains not far from Rome. On its crest is the ruined sanctuary of the Latin League, where in very early times a great sacrificial festival was annually celebrated. An ancient basalt-paved way, the *Via Triumphalis*, leads to the summit. Up this roadway wound the triumphal processions of those generals to whom the Senate refused a triumphal recognition at Rome. The view from Carducci's beech-tree embraces the Alban, Volscian, and Sabine Mountains, the sweeping shore-line of the blue Mediterranean, the Roman Campagna with its shimmering lines of ruined aqueduct, and, faintly silhouetted against the distant horizon, the dome of St. Peter's. Few modern poems express more beautifully the immortality of life and time in contrast to the evanescence of mortal things.—THE EDITORS.

Hail! king of beech-trees on this mountain crest,
Raising aloft thy rugged bole and thick,
And, like a many-branching candlestick,
Reaching thy gracious arms above the rest.

The young trees murmur and gleam in the sun, and toss,
Breeze-fondled. Vibrant harmony they sing,
Stung with desire; and every fibrous thing
Takes, in the sun and the wind, a rarer gloss.

The undulating lines of the foothills join
The little towns vivaciously together,
Saluting each by each; and from the nether
Soft sliding shadows seek their vantage-coign.

Good-morrow, Frascati! whose buoyant, teeming air
Is impregnate with young creativeness.
When the good autumn comes, your peasants press
Grand liquor from your vineyards everywhere.

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Good-morrow, Rocca di Papa! high, so high
You cling upon your crag precipitous,
Like flocks of mountain goats the impetuous
Assault of wolves has come to terrify.

Good-morrow, Marino! and Castel Gandolfo, good-day!
Who offer your lips for the hearty breeze to kiss,
Respecting your ancient, rustic beauty—this
That holds in crescent-wise arms the emerald bay.

Behold Albano, Genzano, and, near the tall bridge,
Arriccia, comrade of Nemi which ruled the towns neighboring
What time the feudal Orsini, mightily laboring,
Piled them a massive stronghold high on the ridge.

Closed in the whorls of the hills as in whorls of a shell,
There the sad waves of the two lakes curl evermore,
Mournfully washing on desolate reaches of shore
Rich on a time with forests no iron dared fell.

Wide the campagna extends, in silence furled—
In silence profound and in its potent peace.
And far beyond the pallid fields one sees
The sacred place which once contained the world.

Lies the City, wrapped in a vaporous shroud,
Like to a person by deep sleep oppressed.
Never an echo carries to this crest
Aught of the mighty clangor of its crowd.

Here it is sweet to lie and quite forget
All of the tumults and annoys of life.
All of the tumult here, the murmurous strife
Of young leaves that upon the green twigs fret.

By every plant that sheds a murmur dim
Upon the air; by every nimble stem;
By every stone and tree,—by all of them
Is raised a solemn, an imperious hymn:

"I hymn the candid praises of eternal
Life which is in the flame and in the spring,—
In insect, ocean, planet, everything,—
In the rude clod and in the Judge supernal;

Of life which knows to whizz and hum and boom.
Eternally it murders and creates.
In action and in thought it radiates,
And glows within the cradle and the tomb."

Stretch over me, O beech, thy mighty arms,
Who viewest from thine height the plains and skies.
This hour is mine, though countless unborn eyes
Shall know in coming centuries thy charms.

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THE INCOME TAX

A Study of its Advantages and Disadvantages as a Form of Federal Taxation

BY PHILIP S. POST

This is the fourth and last of a series of articles dealing with four of the most important subjects discussed in President Roosevelt's Message at the opening of this session of Congress. Mr. Post's article on "The Inheritance Tax" appeared in The Outlook of January 5; Judge Grosscup's article on "The Corporations and the People" in The Outlook of January 12; while two articles on "Lynching and Race Riots" will be found in The Outlook of February 2.—THE EDITORS.

THE Income Tax: Is it the fairest and most equitable tax ever devised, or is it the most odious and generally condemned mode of taxation resorted to by any nation?

Twice Congress has enacted an income tax, the first in 1862, and again in 1894. The act of 1862 was a war measure, passed at a time when Congress was seeking to drain every available spring of National revenue. With the public mind engrossed with the fate of armies, the tax was adopted without any widespread discussion. Its constitutionality was upheld the Supreme Court perhaps unconsciously feeling the imperious demand of the war that in no wise should the arm of the Government be weakened. The rates varied from three to ten per cent. The law was repealed in 1871.

On August 18, 1894, Congress again enacted an income tax. Before it had become generally operative, the Supreme Court, by a vote of five Justices to four, declared the law unconstitutional. It is noteworthy that its enactment had not been preceded by any general debate among the voters. The income tax was not an issue in the campaign of 1892, and the country had no serious reason for anticipating that the Congress then being elected would enact such a statute. The public interest awakened by its passage soon died away, the adverse decision of the Supreme Court having apparently removed the question from the realm of National politics. To this place it has been reinstated by the recommendations contained in President Roosevelt's annual Message.

If the United States is again to adopt the income tax, it is most desirable that Congressional action should be preceded by a full and thorough popular debate as to its merits. This is desirable with respect to all important enactments. It is peculiarly true as to this proposed tax, which, more than any other tax known to governments, requires for its success and efficiency the support of a well-informed and thoroughly convinced public opinion.

It has seemed fitting, therefore, to present a study of the advantages and disadvantages incident to this form of taxation.

The Advantages. The income tax, say its advocates, is "the fairest and most equitable tax ever devised." In the earliest times taxation lacked equality. A tax was either a gift regulated by the generosity and loyalty of the members of the clan, or an extortion limited only by the power and rapacity of the ruler. Through the rude equity of the poll tax, falling alike upon every male subject, by successive stages more equitable standards have been reached, until there is now a general acceptance of the maxim that income is the most equitable test by which to measure the amount that the citizen ought to contribute to the support of the Government that shelters him. "To arrange a system

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of taxation which shall correspond as closely as possible to the net revenue of individuals and social classes, and which shall take into account the variations in taxpaying ability, has thus become the demand of modern civilization."

In the light of the historical development of taxation, it is argued that income should appear to the lawmakers of progressive States a sound basis for the imposition of public burdens. There is an evident equity in this standard. Clearly it is the duty of the citizen to support the Government in proportion to his capacity to support himself. The test may not be absolute; but in what truer scales can be measured the distribution of these burdens? It is confidently asked, What can be fairer than that each citizen should annually contribute a just portion of his net income for the support of the Government or State under which he has elected to live, and in default of which he would not be likely to have either gain, income, or property? Cumulative testimony supports the allegation that the income is one of the most equitable, productive, and least objectionable forms of taxation, and that it accords in the highest degree with those canons or maxims which are regarded by nearly all economists and jurists as the highest embodiment of human wisdom on the subject.

Thus the broad claim is made that the income tax is the fairest of all taxes; that it tends to relieve the poorer classes and places the load upon the shoulders of those best able to bear it; that even for persons of large means it is advantageous; that the private revenue of an individual, by reason of trade conditions, varies greatly—in some years he may make much, in other years, without any appreciable change in the amount of his property, his income may be trifling; that whereas the general property tax mercilessly demands its due regardless of the year's profits or losses, the income tax accommodates itself to the varying condition of the taxpayer, bears lightly upon the business man who is struggling to keep his head above water, and postpones its heaviest call until the year of plenty.

The tax is in this regard the protector of legitimate business. The prediction has been ventured that its substitution for the usual property taxes would save many a man from bankruptcy. Unlike license taxes, it does not make it difficult for the man of small capital to begin business; unlike the personal tax, it does not levy toll upon a stock of merchandise from which, because of financial depression, the owner is perhaps deriving no profits; unlike the real estate tax, it does not increase the rent charge of every store and factory, whether succeeding or failing. The tax on incomes wisely and mercifully regards the present ability of the taxpayer, relieving him in adversity and participating in his prosperity.

The income tax has the further claim of reaching certain professional classes who under existing laws largely escape taxation. Their gains are great; they live comfortably and even luxuriously; they provide for their families by life insurance or other untaxed investments; yet they contribute not to the State under whose protection they thrive. This, it is said, is a financial injustice to the other classes who do pay; and, more, it is harmful to the Commonwealth itself. It creates a group of persons—often well educated, with opportunities for information and leisure for public service—who, because they pay nothing to the State, become indifferent to the duties of citizenship. They feel no direct monetary concern in the business of the State. They disdainfully disavow any interest in politics. Whatever contribution they make is the result of indirect taxation, and this is paid unconsciously. The exact amount contributed by any citizen because of the internal revenue and customs duties is unknown and unascertainable. There would be a social and political value to the country in a Federal tax under which every citizen would consciously pay a definite sum. Such payment would induce a more careful scrutiny into civic affairs, and would tend to awaken that direct and universal interest in public administration which is the safeguard of democratic government. This would be followed by more orderly methods of business on the part of individuals. Men would keep stricter

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accounts. They would know how they stand themselves, and financial failures due to ignorance and lack of method would be lessened.

A general tax levied upon the net income of individuals has this great recommendation: it has no tendency to disturb prices. In this it differs from certain other taxes, which, being laid on consumption, influence prices and affect markets and values. It is contended that all such taxes fall most heavily upon the poor; that whenever the levy is made, not on the basis of the amount received, but on the basis of the amount consumed, by the taxpayer and his family, it is a scheme of taxation which, of necessity, rests with disproportionate weight upon the masses of the people; and that "this flagrant injustice to the poorer class of contributors" can be compensated for only by an income tax in which small incomes shall be entirely exempt.

In this view the tax ceases to be merely a mode of raising revenue, and becomes an instrument of tremendous social and economic importance. Equality of taxation should be the first purpose of every well-ordered body politic; and it is confidently claimed that equality of taxation is impossible in any community without the income tax; that it is a measure by which to prevent certain kinds of property from obtaining "a position of favoritism and advantage inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our social organization;" that it is the only protection that the American people have against "the dominion of aggregated wealth;" that the great problem before the statesman is not how to obtain money for official expenses, but how to employ the taxing power so as to curtail riches and produce a more equal level of private possessions; that conditions in the United States call for the application of what is termed the Jeffersonian doctrine, that an equality of wealth must be preserved among the people "by taxing large wealth heavily, smaller wealth lightly, and least wealth not at all;" that this can be accomplished by a tax on gains and profits so framed that it will not touch the smaller incomes, but will lay a vigorous hand upon the annual receipts of the rich. It is proclaimed that the income tax is alone capable of producing these equalizing results; that justice and wisdom demand its adoption; and that it will prove not a burden but a benefit to the Republic.

Considerations such as these have developed a strong tendency all over the world to employ this tax as a means of raising a portion of the public moneys. Its sponsors point with assurance to the fact that it has proved a satisfactory source of revenue in the countries where it has been adopted; that when once placed on the statute-books it has generally been continued and extended; that the difficulties of collection have been found to be exaggerated; and they contend that the experience of nations like England and Germany, and the increasing use of the tax by civilized States, form the best and most conclusive evidence in favor of its wisdom and efficiency.

The Disadvantages. The critics of the income tax—with a positiveness equaling that of their opponents—hurl back the assertion that it is "the most odious and universally condemned mode of taxation resorted to by any nation;" that, in spite of its theoretical justice, it has generally failed in its actual operation; that, however fair and alluring its principles, in practice it has been found to be unequal and unjust, undemocratic in spirit, inquisitorial in method, debauching to the public morals, the parent of perjury, the burden on the back of industry, an assault upon property, and a step toward communism.

There can be no denial that the income tax is unpopular. It is immediate, undisguised, personal taxation; and against this human nature always has, and probably always will, rebel. It meets violent opposition where indirect taxes are cheerfully borne.

A salient cause for this repugnance lies in the fact that the tax invades the right of privacy. If it is to be efficiently enforced, every person must lay bare the details of his property and business. Every item of his private transactions, whether entirely personal or in connection with others in situations of the most sacred trust, is subject to exposure. His financial strength becomes the object of envy; his weakness is told to his

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competitors, and becomes the sweet morsel of a gossiping public. The tax engrafts the spy system on the arm of the government, and in its train come a horde of impertinent revenue officers. In its administrative features it answers Samuel Johnson's choleric definition of the word excise as "a hateful tax."

A tax which is offensive to the citizen and which he regards as unreasonably oppressive is necessarily difficult of collection. Evasion is its legitimate child, and evasion must be followed with methods of collection constantly increasing in harshness and stringency. As the Roman tax-gatherer found in torture a frequent aid in discovering concealed property, so agencies in their nature arbitrary and inquisitorial must be used in the collection of this impost.

These methods and agencies find scant welcome in democratic countries. They belong essentially to despotic governments, and are peculiarly unsuited to republican institutions. This revenue cannot be collected unless the tax-gatherers have the power to compel the production of the private books and papers of the citizen upon which to base the assessment. This is a power which the legislature will hesitate to confer, and which, if given, will prove of doubtful efficiency. "It may suit the purposes of despotic power, but it cannot abide the pure atmosphere of political liberty and personal freedom."

The taxation of incomes invites fraud, deception, and dishonesty. Mr. Gladstone said that an income tax made "a nation of liars," and that nothing does more "to demoralize and corrupt the people." Practically, it is not an equitable tax on incomes, but rather a tax on "ignorance and honesty;" only those pay their full proportion who have not learned the methods of evasion, or, knowing the means, are too honorable to use them. It allows a man in failing condition to report a fictitious income, and thereby impose upon the business world; while the actual recipient of large gains conceals them to avoid the tax.

Before adding to its fiscal system this tax which demands either universal honesty or universal espionage, the country should listen to the overwhelming testimony against the personal property tax as now attempted to be enforced by the various States. Tax commissions have declared that the system is "debauching to the conscience and subversive of the public morals," that "it puts a premium on perjury and a penalty on integrity," and that "the attempt to enforce these laws is utterly idle." If the assessment of personal property is subject to such difficulties and evils, what will be the extent of the perjuries and public demoralization under an attempt to enforce an income tax? The statistics of revenue collected during the Civil War tell a graphic story. In 1869, with all incomes in excess of $1,000 subject to the tax, only 259,388 persons out of 37,000,000 acknowledged the receipt of any taxable incomes. It has been stated that only officials connected with the Treasury Department can form any adequate idea of the amount of perjury and fraud which pervaded the country from 1867 to 1872, and that American ingenuity was never more strikingly illustrated than in devising methods for evading taxes.

The impositions of the State should interfere as little as possible with industrial activity. No needless check should be laid upon the hands engaged in the beneficial work of adding to the aggregate of the National wealth. This principle the income tax ignores and violates. It is a tax on brains, enterprise, and industry; on mind and energy. It is an encouragement to shiftlessness and idleness. It punishes the active and frees the indolent. It exacts a contribution from the worker at the time when every dollar of capital may be most vitally needed in the building of his business. As was recently said by Andrew Carnegie: "This Nation will never regret anything so much as attempting to collect a tax from men engaged in business —bees making honey for the National hive."

For a century constructive statesmen have sought to add to the Nation's progress by encouraging manufactures and inviting the investment of capital. It is worth while to consider the effect which an income tax would have in nullifying these efforts. The modern movability

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of capital must be taken into account. As water seeks its level, so capital seeks those fields where it is least hampered by exactions. Would not a progressive income tax—even though moderate and managed with the utmost circumspection—lead to an enormous transfer of American capital to other lands?

The tendency of income tax legislation to enlarge the class of exempt persons is noticeable. The law of 1862 at first relieved incomes under $600, then under $1,000, and later under $2,000, while the law of 1894 freed all incomes under $4,000. The exemption of all save the larger incomes seems now to be an inherent attribute of the tax. It is surely its most popular and attractive feature. This, it is submitted, is essentially class legislation. It differs not in real character from the English statute of 1691, which taxed Protestants at a certain rate, Catholics at double the rate of Protestants, and Jews at another and separate rate. All such discriminations, as a logical outcome, lead to oppression and abuses, and general unrest and disturbance in society. The plain duty is before every citizen to contribute his proportion, however small the sum, to the support of the government. It is no kindness to urge him to escape from this obligation. In giving his mite he will have a greater regard for the government and greater respect for himself. The humblest subject should not be put in the conscious position of a pauper of his government.

It is startling to consider the effect which an exemption of $4,000 has in transferring the burden of this tax upon an infinitesimal portion of the population. In democratic countries, where every citizen has a vote regardless of property, there is naturally a strong temptation to shift the load of governmental revenue upon the shoulders of the wealthy few. There is a sinister significance in the extent to which Congress yielded to this temptation in 1894. An income of $4,000 at five per cent. represents a fixed capital of $80,000. Thus this law rejected as objects of taxation every citizen whose taxpaying ability represented $80,000 or less. It compelled less than two per cent. of the taxable inhabitants to contribute ninety-five per cent. of the entire tax. Commenting on these figures, Senator Edmunds, with fine scorn, exclaimed: "And this we call a free government—a government of equal protection of the laws!"

It is protested that the philosophical considerations of men who love liberty and wish it to be perpetuated are all arrayed against such a scheme of government. It is so evidently unequal, discriminating, and partial that it is a misnomer to call it taxation. It is unmasked confiscation. Surely such legislation should not find shelter beneath the Constitution. It defies not only the principles of that great document, but it sweeps away personal and property rights which the Supreme Court has declared to be beyond and above the Constitution:

> It must be conceded that there are such rights in every free government beyond the control of the State. A government which recognized no such rights, which held the lives, the liberty, and the property of its citizens subject at all times to the absolute disposition and unlimited control of even the most democratic depository of power, is after all but a despotism. It is true it is a despotism of the many—of the majority, if you choose to call it so—but it is none the less a despotism.[1]

With solemn earnestness it is affirmed that the violation of this doctrine of elemental rights will be followed by further invasions, and that, as one vice follows another, we will soon have possibly one per cent. of the people paying the taxes, and finally a provision that only the twenty persons having the greatest estates shall bear the whole taxation—"and after that communism, anarchy, and then the ever following despotism."

. . . . . .

The foregoing statement of the reasons and arguments which have been presented for and against the taxation of incomes discloses how intense and fundamental the difference of opinion upon this question is. While extreme and somewhat violent utterances are not unexpected when coming from the stump or legislative halls, there is a profound significance in some of the statements contained in the divergent opinions filed by the Supreme Bench in the Income

[1] Loan Association vs. Topeka, 20 Wall, 655.

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Tax Cases,[1] where one learned Justice denounced the tax then proposed not only as unconstitutional, but as an assault on wealth and a usurpation of power, while another expressed his deep conviction that the denial of the power of Congress to levy the tax approached the proportion of "a national calamity" and might prove the "first step toward the submergence of the people in a sordid despotism of wealth."

Amid these antagonistic opinions, what is the true course? A trustworthy chart has been prepared by President Roosevelt in his declaration that in this kind of taxation, where the men who vote the tax pay but little of it, there should be a clear recognition of the danger of inaugurating any such system save in a spirit of entire justice and moderation; and that it must be made clear beyond peradventure that the aim is to distribute burdens equitably, and to treat rich men and poor men on a basis of absolute equality.[2] But will the country steer faithfully by that chart? In 1894 Congress drifted upon the dangerous reefs of discriminating taxation. If the mirage of its impractical fairness shall again lure Congress to enact an income tax, it should at least be so framed as to fall upon a reasonable percentage of the population. It should not by its narrow scope nullify the uniformity mandate of the Constitution, for, as has been said, when that occurs, "it will mark the hour when the sure decadence of our present government will commence." And it is further submitted that, before any income tax legislation whatever is undertaken, Congress may wisely act upon the President's recommendation for a progressive inheritance tax. Such a measure will accomplish many of the good results and avoid most of the evils attendant upon the income tax. Let Congress, therefore, impose a reasonable tax on inheritances, and test its possibilities of revenue and its equalizing powers, before resorting to a tax of doubtful constitutionality, which in practice is unequal, discriminating, obnoxious, and inefficient, the foe of industry, the shroud of personal honesty, and a stranger to the true spirit of our laws and institutions.

IS WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION PRACTICABLE?

BY ARTHUR B. REEVE

WHO takes care of the thousands of men, women, and children who are caught in the wheels of our record-breaking prosperity and turned out cripples? Who takes care of the many more thousands of widows and orphans who are cast adrift by the loss of the wage-earner of the family?

Half a million workers, it is estimated, are doomed every year to be killed or injured. Few have savings that will tide them over a long rainy day; fewer still will receive any compensation for their wasted lives or limbs. Many will become a burden to their friends and families—families, perhaps, which under normal circumstances they supported; others will ultimately become a burden on public and private charity.

Poor-relief statistics show that the cost of maintaining a pauper throughout his natural life is about $6,000. If only one in ten of these victims is totally incapacitated, it means that private and public charities are called on every year to contract to pay out some three hundred million dollars in the future.

The economic loss, also, can only be estimated, for who shall calculate flesh and blood in dollars and cents? The statistician of the greatest industrial insurance company in America is inclined to place the net annual economic gain of an average worker at $400. At the prime of life that would make his esti-

[1] Pollock vs. Farmers' Loan and Trust Co., 157 U. S., 429; 158 U. S., 601.
[2] Annual Message, December, 1906.

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mated future economic value something like $10,395. Statistics gathered in several States indicate that from two to four per cent. of industrial accidents are fatal. That would mean that productive power with upwards of $100,000,000 is annually lost, in the face of the demand all over the country for more labor. What is the economic loss through injuries cannot even be estimated.

How many widows and orphans and other dependents are left cannot be accurately estimated. Charitable workers tell us that a large proportion of those they meet with were rendered dependent in this way. In a special study in 1899 of 1,386 persons injured in the factories of New York State there were found to be 1,629 dependent wives, children, or others, a ratio of 1.18 dependents to one injured person. By the 1,123 killed in coal-mining in Pennsylvania 604 widows and 1,419 orphans were left, a total of 2,023—nearly two for each man killed. If only one dependent were affected by each of the half-million annually killed and injured, it means that another half-million are temporarily or permanently suffering with the wage-earner himself.

It is unfortunate, one may say, but it has always been that way and always will be. The reformer who would more equitably distribute this burden is called a visionary. Perhaps, however, it can be demonstrated that it need not always be that way. As for the reformer, perhaps he is not so visionary as he seems; perhaps the machinery which he would set in motion to better things is already constructed and needs only modification and an initial impulse to go a long way toward solving the question. Let us see.

First of all comes the theory on which rests the compensation of the workingman for all accidents suffered in the course of his trade. Stated brutally, it is that he is at least on a par with the machinery he runs. The employer does not ask the charity of the State or the savings of his employees to repair or replace the wear and tear on his machinery; it is charged in in the price of the commodity manufactured, and the consumer pays it as a legitimate cost of production. How about the wasted lives and the twisted limbs of the workmen? Is not the "risk of a trade" as legitimate cost of production as the wear and tear on machinery? If human life goes into the mining of coal or the manufacturing of steel, why should not I, the consumer of coal, the user of steel, pay the cost? Why should the charity of the State of Pennsylvania or the savings of relatives of the unfortunate victim pay the price?

But, one objects, perhaps it was the negligence or the ignorance of the victim himself. Perhaps, I retort, it was the greed of an employer who had so many paying contracts that he couldn't shut down a furnace that threatened every day to explode and shower the "careless" and "ignorant" workers with a molten rain of white-hot iron. Let us call it quits. Is the misery any the less whether the fault inclines to the one side or the other?

Perhaps the subject seems now to be hopelessly involved—the idea of negligence has gone out of it altogether. "But that is the workman's compensation of Social Democratic Germany and of Great Britain," it is objected by the manufacturer. Exactly. "We cannot afford to take up that; competition is so keen that these rivals will distance us." Perhaps we cannot afford *not* to take it up. That is a dangerous argument—a sort of heads-I-win-tails-you-lose. We will be distanced if we take it up; yet other nations creep up on us though they have taken it up. In this aspect the case is not sentimental, or one of social reform; it is a matter of good business and pure patriotism.

What should be the programme? Modern philanthropy is more and more seeking the causes that underlie the effect, poverty. It is becoming preventive without ceasing to be palliative. So with this programme; first of all it must deal with prevention, but concurrently it must deal with palliation.

Prevention of accidents is being more talked of now than ever before in this country. The American Institute of Social Service has been holding an exposition of safety devices for machinery and industrial hygiene in New York City, and endeavoring to establish a "museum of security" like those in Amsterdam,

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Berlin, Munich, Vienna, Paris, and other European cities. Preventive legislation is more common on our statute-books than ever before. State and Nation are gradually taking up the questions of industrial accidents and industrial diseases.

Palliation is being taken up actively also in a rather different way than it ever was before. Within a year New York and Chicago have established "bureaus for the handicapped," where the wrecks of dangerous trades are, as far as possible, given chances to obtain work in lines that do not require the use of their lost limbs. Cleveland has followed suit. Now President Roosevelt adds the weight of his approval to a Federal employers' liability law as far as it is possible to go. Illinois and Massachusetts are vying with each other in investigating the subject. The Governor of Connecticut has recommended a new law as to employers' liability.

What is to be the end of this activity? Scarcely a well-informed insurance man in the casualty and employers' liability companies can be found who does not see the end clearly. It is simply and solely workmen's compensation for all accidents in the course of their trades. It will mean, we are told, a readjustment and reclassification of rates—ultimately a tremendous expansion of the business of insurance—but whatever it means, it is slowly coming, and the sooner it is recognized, and the system by which it is to come evolved, the better it will be for both capital and labor in the end.

This suggests a parenthetical thought of some interest. Both organized capital and organized labor seem to be peculiarly unprepared to meet it. Organized capital has little defense to point to except a few scattered "pension" systems and a movement for "social betterment" that excites suspicion in the recipients. On the other hand, of one hundred letters addressed to the international organizations of as many unions in the most dangerous occupations, not one came back with any statistics of the extent of industrial accidents other than that the situation was graded from "horrible" to "good."

As for workingmen's insurance against accident and the employers' liability for compensation for all accidents, they are not the impossibility they seem on the face of the statement. For they are already being practiced voluntarily by thousands of employers in the United States.

Insurance companies are writing a form of insurance called "workman's collective" insurance. Sometimes it is paid for by the employer, sometimes it is paid for by the employee as a condition precedent to his employment. In either case it tends toward meeting the growing demand for indemnification of the employee for injury regardless of his negligence or of the criminal liability of the employer. It is nothing more nor less than collective accident insurance.

One standard company writes a policy, which is generally followed by the others, covering the time a workman is engaged in his work, while for about fifteen per cent. additional premium it will give him accident insurance to cover every hour of the day, working or not. In case of death it pays one year's wages up to $1,500, the same sum for the loss of two limbs or two eyes, for one limb one-third the sum, for one eye one-eighth, not exceeding $200. In the event of temporary disability it pays one-half the weekly wages for a period not exceeding twenty-six weeks, or a sum not exceeding $500.

As a "transition" form of insurance between the time when few workmen are compensated and the time when all will be, this is the best that exists. Where the employer pays the premium, it keeps him in good touch with the employee. The premium seldom rises over ten dollars per employee a year, and is more often below that sum. It is like an addition to his salary. In the more selfish cases the employer, acting as trustee, deducts from each man's wages a pro-rata payment. The premium each employer must pay is based on the relative danger of the trade and the estimated pay-roll at the beginning of the year, together with the actual pay-roll at the end.

Several instances where large employers of labor take advantage of such insurance show that workmen's compensa-

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tion is not an idea wholly alien to them. A large grain elevator company in the Middle West, employing hundreds of men, has for years taken out such insurance for a pay-roll of upwards of $300,000. An iron company (not in the trust) in Pennsylvania does the same thing.

Many employers follow the method of a large lumber company in Michigan, which makes it a rule that every one who comes into its employ shall pay his proportionate share of the premium. This is a condition on which he is employed, and a matter of discipline.

Here, then, is a means ready to hand for the evolution of workmen's compensation. The law should be carefully prepared in such a way as not to permit of the employer's shifting the burden of the premium to his workmen rather than of passing it on as a cost of production. The strengthening of employers' liability laws is badly needed, while insurance would distribute the burden equitably as a risk of trade. Insurance companies, fearful of losses, would supplement State inspectors in enforcing laws regarding safety devices and hygienic conditions.

Along with benefits to employers and employees come the benefits to the State itself. The lightening of the heavy burden of public charity, as a result of the reckless waste of life and limb, would be considerable.

Quite important as a consideration for the employee is the fact that such insurance does not bar recovery by suit in a court of law in case of criminal negligence of the employer. It probably mitigates proportionally the amount recoverable, since a sum of damages has already been received by the injured party. In that respect the employer is benefited. But the benefit to the employee is greater.

In a recent case an employee sued and recovered damages from a street railway company in New York. He secured a verdict of $2,000—of which $1,500 promptly went to the lawyer and $100 in witness fees, leaving $400 as the price for nearly all that made life worth living to that man. Insurance would have given this man more than the sum recovered, outright, and still he would have had as good a cause of action. He would not have coined his limbs wholly into dividends for the railway, nor his suffering into "contingent fees" for the lawyer who exploited him.

The German system of insurance includes a small contribution from the State. Possibly, in view of the benefits to the State and to employees, something like the German system could be evolved here, in which the employer would bear the greater share of the cost of insurance; the State contributing a small percentage and the workman paying the additional percentage that would secure for him straight accident insurance.

At any rate, many insurance men, social reformers, labor leaders, and some large employers of labor, concur in the idea that workmen's compensation is as inevitable as it is equitable. The problem must, if possible, be worked out so that in the transition stage it entails the least possible hardship on all parties concerned in the reorganization; but it must be worked out in such a way that it shall accomplish the purpose for which it is designed.

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THE JAPANESE FROM A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

It was at the special request of the editors of The Outlook that this unconventional, conversational, and in our judgment exceedingly entertaining account of Japanese life and character was written. Obviously, the article makes no attempt to deal with Japan in a scientific or learned way. The author had rather unusual opportunities to see the domestic and social sides of the Japanese—their homes, habits, prejudices, ways of thinking and acting, and especially their attitude toward foreigners and views upon foreign customs and manners. Just as Mrs. Hugh Fraser ten years ago or so gave us in her book "An Englishwoman in Japan" a more realizing sense of how the Japanese feel and act than had been gained from any ethnologist or other solemn professor, so the present writer, an American woman, brings us very close, as it seems to us, to the true Japanese man and woman of the present day. Just at this time, when the discussion as to the admission of Japanese children into American schools and of Japanese labor into American markets is filling the newspapers, it is peculiarly interesting to get this direct and lively narrative of Japanese home life.—THE EDITORS.

YOU ask me, "What do I think of the Japanese?" Perhaps you think you are asking a simple question and will get a simple reply, but you will not. I could say concisely and literally, I think *everything* of them, but you would have no idea of the field of likes and dislikes that my everything would cover. I simply adore them—in spots—and often, metaphorically speaking, have sat at their feet in my profound admiration and respect. On the other hand, no other people in the world, high or low class, have ever exasperated me to such a degree. There have been moments when it seemed as if nothing less than a Russian knout in my hand would ever relieve my mind. I have asked myself again and again, Why is it, when I admire and appreciate these people as I do, that I do not like them better than I do?

If one runs through Japan taking in the cherry-blossom-fairyland-time, one is simply in love with everything; but if one stays longer, and begins to feel a desire to come near to the people, to understand them and be one of them, one is lost in misunderstandings. A thousand years would be no better than a day in which to learn the ins and outs of the Japanese character, for, paradoxical as it may seem, the better you know them the less you know them.

Without exaggeration, one can say of Japan's people as well as of her climate everything that is good and everything that is bad, and substantiate this contradictory statement by more than a hundred illustrations each way. The good is very, *very* good and the bad is horrid—that is, if we judge them by our own infallible standards of conduct. When the Japanese considers us from his point of view, he no doubt considers us commercially and materially very, *very* good and useful, but morally and artistically horrid.

If I give you examples in the contrasts between our customs and habits of thought and theirs, you will better understand the complexities in drawing any sweeping conclusions for or against them.

The American, with his pre-natal consciousness of being "IT," has no sympathy for any other point of view in life or thought than his own. We simply cannot believe that a Japanese thinks the fine fresh color in the cheeks of American girlhood coarse and common; that our erect carriage of the body with chins up is an unbecoming flaunting of, to him, inelegant independence; that our method of dress, with the small waist, which so plainly emphasizes the distinctions in sex, is immodest; that the charm, vivacity, and responsiveness of our women are unwomanly and undesirable; and that in our Sunday-go-to-meeting garments we

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are the most ludicrous sights in the world. This, though, is what every Japanese thinks, unless he has fallen under imperial, diplomatic, or coast town influences. Then compare the codes of polite conduct. Ours is not national but a go-as-you-please, individual affair, elastic, spontaneous, and responsive, depending largely upon environment, sometimes upon birth and good breeding; while the Japanese is a cut-and-dried, non-changeable, national affair, a code of etiquette with an elaborate ritual that is functional in act, mode of speech, and phraseology. Bows are of a prescribed lowness and length of time in posture according to rank. There is a language for the coolie, one for the upper classes, and one to acquire if you are presented at court; even the inevitable smile is an etiquettical form.

Whatever the tides may do in Japan, *time* waits, while all men, women, and children perform the rite of good manners. The high-class woman in the first-class railway compartment, after her don-a-san has exercised his lordly prerogative and gone out ahead of her, arises with quiet ease, makes low waist bows to her fellow-travelers of different lengths in time according to the high or low degree of those she is bowing to, and leaves the train with a calm that rises superior to all consideration of the brief stops of a flyer.

The maid whom you invite to return to her home is the subject of polite consideration from the moment it is known that she is going until the last moment when her belongings are piled on to a man-cart and she takes her departure. All the rest of the serving household stop their individual occupations to honor her by doing nothing. She dons the kimono appropriate to the occasion, drinks tea and eats sweetmeats separately with each companion, smokes several small pipes of good will, makes profound obeisance to don-a-san, och-san, cook-san, boy-san, and all the other sans, and departs in the full glory of a functional farewell. The other servants may all have been strangers; she may not be of their class, nor good, nor honest, nor comfortable to live with, but farewell courtesies are her hereditary right. Our method of speeding the going of an unworthy servant and only showing consideration for a worthy one, whom we have liked and respected, a Japanese would be unable to understand as being more sincerely polite than his own.

The rickisha man will converse indefinitely with another servant, while you wait, with no idea that you think he is unmannerly.

The man in the train with a heavy bronchial cold will expectorate before your face and eyes, because he is performing a necessary act and it would be more polite to perform it than not to.

The servant who always cheerfully replies, "Yes, madam," when he should emphatically say, "No, madam," does so with polite intent and not at all meaning to annoy or deceive you. He would willingly have said, "No, madam," had he only understood that the truth would have been more convenient than his idea of politeness. If you unexpectedly run into some one in a state of half-dress, you ignore each other as entirely as if you both were invisible bodies; you do the same if you meet under the circumstances of performing some occupation that is considered beneath your dignity. The friend who dries his naked body in the sun on the beach after a sea bath may be looked at, but is never greeted or recognized.

The Japanese have a code of ethics that applies from birth to death and on through all eternity, which provides a rule for customs in dress, habits, religion, morals, and manners. Each season has its own flower for decoration, its own religious observances, duties, and games. Twice a year you fly kites! Twice a year you play battledore and shuttlecock with gayly colored feather cocks and battledores done up in silken raiment. Once a year little girls play with the ancestral dolls brought out from the godowns (or storehouses), and little boys play with huge fish. Once a year you set your house in order and prepare food for the annual visitation of the spirits of your dead. Once you clean house, and no unkind authority interferes with your putting all your worldly possessions into the middle of the street, while you sweep all the bad out and make ready to gather

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in the good of the new year; and one glorious *once*, every man Jack in the Empire may drink saki to his heart's delight, regardless of results. A year between drinks makes for a sobriety that might recommend itself to temperance organizations.

In the early spring the women put on blue and white cotton kimonos, and the shops are filled with such artistic fabrics that one longs to buy everything in sight—but then that is one's chronic state of mind when in Japan! The babies wear for two weeks after birth solferino pink; from that time on a gorgeous riot of pinks, yellows, blues, and reds are worn until eighteen; then, as you are getting on in years, you wear softer, delicate shades in kimono and obi. When you are married, as you should be by the time you are twenty-two, you wear sober colors and wonderful silvery moonlight-gray obis, and always on ceremonial occasions a black kimono. When you reach the feebleness of sixty years, you are free and independent, honorable, and can cut your hair short, wear scarlet, and do anything you will in the few remaining days of your life. The arrangement of the hair indicates maidenhood or marriage, and in life you fold your kimono together in front one way, and in death you fold it over the other. It is a source of great disturbance to your maid if you make the mistake of not knowing just when you are alive or dead, and it is the more confusing because you seem to come down one morning dead and another living. You will perceive that the only time the Japanese has no rule of three to guide him is when he runs off his hereditary etiquettical track into the complication of foreign relations.

It is generally conceded that the human character is formed on certain logical lines; it is either positive or negative in its tendencies to weakness or strength. If you are a lazy person, you cannot be a supremely industrious one; if you are honest, you are not dishonest; if selfish, you are not generous. But each Japanese character is a special study in the combination of contradictions. The Japanese is both quick and slow, exact and inexact, selfish and generous, honest and dishonest. Characteristics common to the nation are untiring patience, perfect control, and dogged persistence and indomitable determination to do each his own way. I trust you will pardon slang if I remark that for pigheadedness the Japanese takes the cake of the world. He has plenty of hard common sense, and enjoys a good story as well as we. He says that he is full of sentiment, but I don't think he is; he thinks *hard*, and he can hold his tongue, which we can't. At least, in Japan the official class are close-mouthed and the common people talk, while with us the officials talk and the common people don't.

When a Japanese thinks any subject out and decides a certain course to be just and right, he performs it uninfluenced by circumstance, feeling, or sentiment. The occasional American who beats his wife does so in heat of passion and momentary excitement; the occasional Japanese who beats his wife beats her without heat of passion and with thoughtful intention, because she has done some wrong act. He may love her well, but she deserves punishment and he proceeds to give it without temper, and throughout the performance he speaks gently to her and smiles according to the rules of national etiquette.

He thinks that to drown or chloroform a cat or dog is inhuman and cruel, but he will drop an animal into a deep, dry well and let it die a slow but natural death of starvation without the slightest compunction or any intention to be cruel. Indeed, he will do it to save the animal from the foreigner who would inhumanly use chloroform.

In his own interest he is as selfish as any human being can be, but in his care for his parents, for the children of dead relatives or friends, and in sharing with them in some misfortune, he is not only generous but he looks upon the additional burden as a duty to be cheerfully undertaken.

Some characteristics the same as our own he puts to a different use and with such a different method in reasoning that we would not recognize them as our own. He lets "the other fellow do the worrying" as often as we, but in a different way. If you are cheated in business relations, it's your lookout. He really

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has no intention to be dishonest in selling you a cracked cup or vase, a leaking jar, or a spotted yard or yards of silk. It's your affair. His ability to sell you cracked cups and leaking jars is purely and simply an evidence of his business acumen. If you discover the imperfection, he willingly and smilingly replaces it, and cannot understand your annoyance at having to retrace your four-mile rickisha steps to have the wrong made right, especially when you were too stupid to attend to the matter at the proper time—when you bought the article. No Scotchman or Jew ever more keenly loves or enjoys his close bargain in which there is a chance that he may get the best of you; but in other ways his integrity is unimpeachable. In all the time I was there I never had a thing stolen in hotels or my own house. One continually hears of great business contracts carried on with absolute square dealing. Foreigners will say that they would rather deal with Japanese banks than foreign ones. The Scotchman who built one of the electric roads in Tokyo said that he had been in Japan seven times, and had had enormous deals in which the most scrupulous honesty was observed in every transaction. Japanese boys who look to be not more than eight or ten years old are employed in banks and shops, and are intrusted with thousands of dollars for deposit. The rickisha boy will run his legs nearly off to return a package accidentally left in the "ricky." Your house-boy's accounts are always straight. The poorest dealer in the street fairs invariably makes the right change. And, on the whole, I fancy, as a nation they are as honest as we used to be.

Every Japanese feels that he is as surely born with certain inalienable rights as that he is born with two arms and two legs; and he is so engrossed in his own rights that he has not much time to study the rights of his employer. One of these rights is respecting his special perquisites; every working person has them. The cook who makes a per cent. on all food bought has no idea of being dishonest either in the money taken or in the wasting of his employer's time in spending all between whiles in bargaining. Your lordly boy has a per cent. from every bill paid, and does not scorn to walk out and demand his largess from the poor little coolie woman who grubs up weeds from the grass at fifteen cents a day. If you try to slide out, unknown to your guardian-angel boy-san, and slip a gift into little coolie's hand, it is always a failure, for boy-san, who is never far off, appears in time to discover what is going on. Graft in Japan, as here, is not paid much attention to until it grows to unreasonable proportions in the households of the wealthy.

In the Japanese way, servants are devotion itself; they have separate quarters which they regard as their own, where you are not expected to investigate, and which are gradually filled to repletion with an accumulation of relatives in assorted sizes—parents, grandparents, children, wife, a few aunts, uncles, and cousins, perhaps a stray friend, and sometimes a servant for the servant's family.

Your servants expect and wish to perform every possible service for you. I have seen a Japanese mother holding her little child while one maid fed it from a bowl held by another maid, and a third would be fanning them all. They are always on duty, night and day, and they jealously guard all your belongings, feel a pride in your position, look into all your boxes and drawers to know what you have, and show a childish delight in all your purchases; but no wages, nor love, nor training would ever induce one to do what he was told to do, in the way he was told to do it. That an American employer, paying higher wages than any Japanese ever would, has the right to have things done the way he orders them done would never enter the Japanese mind, and he is truly quite unconscious that in this he is simply horrid. You say to your boy, "Zuki, I much hurry; take rickisha and come back quick;" you know he can do the errand within an hour, but you wait three, and Zuki gravely tells you, "Shop he very slow," but you know that Zuki-san put the "ricky" money in his pocket and walked. He doesn't think it dishonest, because he reasons that "you were willing to pay and he was willing to walk and save the money." If you try to explain and expostulate, boy-san will smile, bow low,

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and say, "Very sorry I make mistake," but "mistakes" go on happening until the days heap up into years. There was once a day when there had been so many mistakes that I was cold with exasperation, and bethought me of trying Japanese calm myself, and I really believed that I scored a point. I took a long breath and then said in gentle, most beguiling tones, "Toku Taro, you very smart boy." Toku Taro bridled with pride, bowed low, and said, "Yes! yes! madam." "You like American money?" "Yes! yes! madam," Toku Taro murmurs; then in oily tones I went on to say, "Yes, you very smart boy—if you stupid boy I forgive mistakes, but you very smart; and now, to help you remember not to make mistakes, I will pay American money when you do American way, but when you do Japanese way I pay Japanese money," and this time we both smiled and bowed as the audience was over. Another inalienable prerogative is that you must give boy-san your entire confidence, turn yourself inside out as to motives for orders, reasons for your acts; the wheres, whens, and whys of every move must be elaborately explained. You are not to act independently of him; and when you do, you are made to suffer various disagreeable consequences. He cannot understand the American way of acting without talk, or that he isn't in your mind at all, or that you supposed he knew things from having heard them talked of in the family. If you turn one away for reasons good to yourself but not to him, he will, by various ingeniously skillful methods, prevent you from getting any one else; but if he leaves of his own desire, he will do all he can to fill his place.

You often hear the Japanese speak of each other as lazy, but I do not think them lazy, rather that they are wasteful of time. The maid or boy who has a morning caller stops all work, which it is impolite to go on with, and will smoke and talk for hours, but will sit up late into the night to do the work neglected in the morning. The Japanese worker may sleep in the day, but he makes his time good in the long run, and there is no street in Japan where you will not find men and women at work up to midnight; and in all the large manufacturing plants they work ten hours the same as many of our men do, with even a shorter noon hour for lunch.

All sense of exact time has been left out of the Japanese composition, and you must plan for a sliding scale in all appointments. If a man keeps you waiting two hours, he is serenely unconscious of anything being out of the way; or a he, or a she, will as serenely appear two hours ahead of time; the man due at nine A.M. turns up at seven A.M., and the lady who is to make calls with you at four arrives at two. The workman due Saturday morning to fit in outside windows turns up Sunday evening at seven, and even though it is snowing and blowing he cannot understand why you are not willing to have him stay and work until midnight. The packer, after many conferences, will set his own day and faithfully promise to arrive with his men at nine A.M., but at eleven he will saunter in alone to see what is to be done. The interpreter-secretary would say, "Please don't say four o'clock so quick; say between three and five o'clock." When he was late and I not on hand, he would cheerfully go without his dinner, sleep on his cushion, and wait all hours until my return. If he were willing to wait for me, why should not I as willingly wait for him?

On the other hand, they hold the foreigner to strict account in various ways. If it happened that I did not have as many pieces of clothing in the laundry as I was wont to, the noble-faced Tsura would promptly appear, bow her dusky head to the floor, ask for my honorable condition, of don-a-san's honorable old age, and, after taking an hour of time and more of my honorable temper, she would indicate that my laundry had not as many pieces as it should have; it might even up another week, or I might pay the same at the end of the month, but that would not do—there must be the same weekly number, whether I had them or not. If don-a-san sent his duck suits to a man laundry, Tsura heard of it through the Japanese friend's wireless before the day was over, and would promptly appear to ask the meaning of such a base act. Having a certified number of garments each Monday

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to ward off a week-end visit from Tsura finally got on my nerves, and my temper became so dishonorable that we separated, I paying the bill with a comforting margin and Tsura-san paying a farewell visit and presenting me with a delicious American cake. The laundryman would kindly expect laundry whenever he happened in; he'd wait, but that a definite day was more convenient to me was incomprehensible. Equally incomprehensible is the idea that your laundry is to be done to suit you, and not on the general principle that, although flannels are not to be starched, everything else is; that it's impossible to wear all your undergarments stiff as boards isn't an issue in the question of laundry. You may spend a fortune in the exquisite embroideries, but they are returned from the first washing ruined by starch and having been ironed flat on the top side; and a colored fabric never survives the first onslaught of Japanese washing fluid. You can well imagine that one is in a state of righteous rage most of the time, and what a moral support a Russian knout would have been; but one does not even have the satisfaction of showing disapproval. It does no good. The Japanese regards exhibition of temper as a huge joke, and treats you as if you were a sick baby—tries to smooth you down, or, happy thought! makes you a present. The present is the trump to play in every game, and when in doubt in Japan to give a present is a saving grace. Although you *are* made to mind your p's and q's, if you can make up your mind to put one side all independence and the pet little individual ways dear to your heart and let things be Japanese, you get excellent service; and not only that, but all your serving-sans announce their intention of returning to America with you. Persistence like that of the Japanese is not to be overcome except by the most exhausting strenuosity in fighting against it; and in all my experiences I was haunted by the story that Mr. William Jennings Bryan tells of the Japanese boy who wrote to him that he'd "read his sixteen-to-one speeches with so much interest that he wanted to go over to America to live with him." Mr. Bryan replied immediately that his household was complete, and that it would be entirely impossible for him to arrange to have the boy come. Return mail brought word that the boy "had decided to come; that he knew he could make himself useful; and he would sail on such a steamer." Mr. Bryan then cabled a large-sized "No," not to come. But another three weeks saw boy-san at the Bryan front door. Persistence gained the day, and he was taken in, and still remains after many years. I had visions that I might not be able to withstand this persistence, and that some day I would be returning to the land of the blessed with a comet-like tail of kuramya-sans, Tsura-sans, and boy-sans who would insist upon following me.

The Japanese do not show feeling when we expect them to, and do show it when we do not. It fairly made my blood boil to see the wounded brought into Tokyo day after day, stretcher after stretcher carrying hundreds of pale-faced, maimed men slowly through the streets to the hospitals, with never a cheer or sound of approval from the solid lines of lookers-on. The foreign man who carried his hat in his hand and the foreign woman with tears running down her cheeks were such objects of curiosity that the helpless ones would turn their heads to stare at them. The Japanese populace would walk miles and flood the streets with banners and lanterns at the hours the wounded were expected, and then, when they arrived, the crowd did not do one blessed thing but stand and giggle.

They send their men off with the blare of trumpets and vociferous banzais, but when they return after having fought the good fight, their compatriots receive them with inane giggles.

There never was, to our minds, anything more pathetic than the war funerals. The solemn dirge, the slow-pacing horse of the dead officer, the son walking beside the small box on the gun-carriage that held the shattered particles of a father's body, and the war-widow in her soft white mourning garb and uncovered head, aroused one's deepest sympathy; but the long procession would slowly wend its way between compact masses of smiling faces and cheerful talk.

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In many ways they show great respect for their dead, and pay calls at the last resting-place for years, leaving visiting-cards in small boxes which are placed in the cemetery lots for the purpose, and also leaving huge upright pickets of wood with names put on in black; some of the graves of the dead fairly bristled with these ten or twelve feet high pickets which stand upright in the ground. But when they come to tell you of a death in the family, they do so with smiling cheerfulness; when you show any natural concern, they become more giggly, and, thinking of your foreign ideas, will say, "Yes, yes, very sad." The giggle often gets on one's nerves as much as Tsura-san's week-end visits, and it is difficult to keep one's mind concentrated upon the fact that these people are feeling when they laugh in grief as we do when we cry, the more so because they also laugh for fun as we do; but when you settle down to thinking of it, it's pure custom whether you laugh or cry, and the Japanese really feels the same kind of sorrow with his laughter that we do with our tears.

He looks upon his physical body and its needs as just natural, a part of nature, like a tree or any growing thing that he is not responsible for: if it is more comfortable to be covered, all right, be covered; but if it is more comfortable to be *un*covered, all right, be *un*covered; he does not think of it either way—it's unimportant. On the other hand, the emotions that are controlled by the mind he hides behind a defensive cast-iron stoicism, and thinks it as indecent to uncover his feelings as we do to uncover our bodies. If he is suffering mentally or physically, he bears it unmoved; and he never makes any demonstration of affection in public. The characteristics of courage and fortitude are so common that to be without them would be shameful. The wounded men in the hospitals would drag themselves up to perform the rites of politeness, and then quite cheerfully show one the place where the ball had gone in; and the men who were returned to Tokyo because of illness and without a wound were so ashamed that they did not let their families know that they were in the hospitals. The laws for keeping the body covered are of course obeyed as far as possible, but without an understanding of their meaning. The policeman who was discovered in the altogether on the sea-beach declared that he had obeyed the law, as he "had worn his trunks into the sea; that now he was only drying himself."

The Japanese has none of the Anglo-Saxon instinct which with us often takes the place of exact knowledge; he does not "catch on" with our readiness, and he thinks with arduous round-about-ness and cannot approach a subject squarely and at once. Our way of plumping into the middle of things is most disconcerting; he likes to be able to get ready by degrees. He says that our houses crowded with furniture, pictures, and good and bad junk are confusing to the eye and demoralizing to all concentration in thought. He depends upon the soft light, the perfect proportion, and the simpleness in his homes and temples to promote contemplation. He desires to ruminate and to chew his cud of thought over and over. One beautiful object in art absorbs him, and when his mind is filled to satisfaction with the color, outline, or story, he removes the precious object to his godown and brings out another to brood over.

The child is taught early in life to reverence all things in art, and to obey. He is literally to do his duty in that state of life to which he is called, and if happiness comes his way it is to be enjoyed as a God-given day in June, not as a right, but as an incidental ray of light amid the shadows of life. Everything that is taught in schools, manufactories, or in the field is taught slowly, with patient reiteration—there are no short cuts to knowledge. The officer who drilled raw recruits hours and days in our great garden or in the adjoining street never raised his voice in command, but he evidently went over the same ground of instruction hour after hour, day after day. In a long winded talk he would explain what he wanted done, then he would go through the movements himself, then with each man separately, and finally all together. The practice of running in companies over the great Military Reservation was kept

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at continually, but with an informality impossible to our ideas of military training. A man who was quickly winded sat down where he fell out of ranks and fell in when he recovered, and no one howled at him or jumped on him. The eminent surgeon who lectured Fridays in the Red Cross would gently reiterate the same thing for an hour—something we would have learned in a few moments. He wrote the proceeding on the blackboard, then he talked it, then he would pick up a piece of cloth, cut a bandage or whatever he needed, and again painstakingly go over the same ground demonstrating the act. No detail was omitted—"you must not talk, laugh, cough, or sneeze upon these rolls." The audience of princesses, duchesses, countesses, and lesser titles patiently listened and afterwards practiced folding and refolding emergency packets, each one of thousands and thousands to be folded exactly the same way. I asked why there would be any hurt if once in a while the right side flap was under side instead of top side, but the surgeon said, "No, the exact uniformity must be maintained;" and I wished that that surgeon had had the training of Japanese shoemakers and tailors. A shoemaker might make you a hundred pairs of shoes, but he would take your measure carefully for each pair, and each pair would be a little larger than the other; when you rose in wrath and objected, the next pair would be too small. The tailor also takes a new measure for each article made, and gradually pares edges down until the garment is always a little too small or a little too large. That you prefer your shirt-waist to fit your individual size is quite too unreasonable for consideration. All shirt-waists look alike to him, whether in sizes thirty-two or forty.

No Japanese has learned a thing until he understands it; he cannot learn by rote, nor study with his eyes without use of his mind; and he has the infinite patience to teach, and to learn, until understanding is complete. There is nothing that is mechanical that he cannot learn to understand and to do to perfection. No mechanism is so intricate or delicate that he cannot reproduce it. He will follow any design if you have the patience to explain it slowly, over and over again and then again, until he says "he knows;" after that he will work with a skill and deftness that are unsurpassed. A body of workmen will accomplish by hand and physical power alone the laying of huge stone walls and foundations, with a skill, rapidity, and quiet impossible to us with the most modern mechanical appliances.

I doubt if any Japanese convert to Christianity ever understands his new belief any better than the policeman understood the law for bathing-clothes. He may become a good Japanese Christian, but not a British or an American Christian; he cannot regard Sunday as a church day and not one set apart for the doing of odd jobs, nor can he replace his hereditary ideas of politeness with plain truthfulness. Sad to relate, none of us wished to take our servants from the ranks of converts. A maid came to me one day when I was making a change in my household and brought me excellent recommendations; she also said that she could cook, had lived in the family of an American physician two years, and had learned English. She stood by my side and in beguiling confidence murmured, "Beef-steaky, oysters, onions, potatoes, hot biscuits, pancakes, and apple pie." Pancakes and apple pie carried the day, and I engaged her, even though I had to wait a while for her. The first morning after her arrival, when coffee did not appear, I went down to investigate, and found my one treasure, the dear little Samurai maid, in a splendid fit of giggles, but there was no cook and no coffee. Towards noon cook-san trotted in with a beaming smile and a prayer-book in her hand, and said, in a tone that showed that she expected to meet with heartfelt sympathy, "I Christian, I go church." My heart sank into my boots—to have waited two whole weeks for a Christian cook-san! Time quickly developed the fact that she could not recognize "beef-steaky" or any other of the delectable eatables she had mentioned by sight, that she had no idea of cooking, and that she did not speak or understand more than a few words of English. She dusted my books with soap and water,

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went to church, and obligingly stood by learning English while I did the cooking, and when I told her to go she said that she did not want to, that she thought we got on very well, and I could keep on teaching her to speak English and to cook. When I declined both to teach and to pay the wages of "an excellent cook who spoke good English," to my relief she declined to stay. I can assure you that a background of time makes this episode far more amusing than it seemed when it happened. The day after, when on my way to hunt up a native heathen cook-san, I fell in with another Christian. A little Japanese woman shoved herself over on the car seat until she was near me and looked up at me with a smile. When I had smiled in return, she ventured to open conversation by saying, "You American?" "Yes." "You live Yokohama?" "No, Tokyo." "You missionary?" "No." Then with pride she announced, "I Christian—Bible very nice book;" to both of these remarks I smiled a response. She then said, "Every one in your country very good." With surprise in my tone, I replied, "Oh, no, not every one." This evidently surprised her, for she insisted, "Every one very happy in your country;" again I replied, "No, not every one." But once more she tried, "Every one going to be married in your country very happy," and with joy I replied "Yes," which unfortunately encouraged her to say, "Every one in your country very good, very happy, and very what you say very rich," and my inconvenient sense of truth made me reply again, "No, not every one." At this she looked at me with wonder and said, "You Christian?" While I was wondering what in the world I was, anyhow, the train stopped and the little woman got off. The general idea seems to be that Christianity has made America a perfect paradise. A bright young student said to me one day, "You seem to be very good in your country; you haven't any one left who needs religious instruction, or you would not send so many missionaries over here."

The serious bar sinister in our relations with the Japanese is their lack of warm-hearted responsiveness; they are never really companionable, and never by hook or crook let you find out what they are really thinking. They smile and smile, but with the mouth alone, once in a while perhaps with the eyes, but never with the heart or soul. If a man wore goggles and peeked over a high stone wall at you, you'd know about as much of how he really looked as you do of the mind of a Japanese after you have talked to him a month. He keeps his feelings in cold storage, and they don't thaw out except on the edges of polite society talk of wind and weather. It's the more exasperating because you know he has heaps of interesting ideas and thoughts—and then he's often good-looking, and in such immaculate attire, and gives such an impression generally of being a man of the world that one expects him to be simply delightful; but it is a bore continually to bump your head against the stone wall of his reserve.

The only particularly free speech of these people is in their criticism of the acts of the Diet or the acts of the Government. Through the press the common people have their frank say upon every subject.

When you add Japanese dogged persistence and patience together, you have a strong combination for good and evil acts, and I have not decided yet that we do wish to make an American citizen of him. He can take our merchandise and missionaries and welcome as long as he does not want t come and investigate Christian principles on their own soil. We'll be glad to help him progress as long as he progresses over into Korea and Manchuria; and we do want him to keep an open door for us in his beautiful park-like country where we all love to play.

Not understanding underlying cause and effect in each other's character-formation will be another stumbling-block in the way of sympathetic relations, and whatever our friendship for Japan may become, it will have to be a friendship based upon mutual misunderstanding and an amiable agreement to disagree.

As Zuki-san writes, "Please you pardon my disrectful long letter," and believe me Regardfully yours,

AN OBSERVER.

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FRÉDÉRIC MISTRAL'S MEMORIES OF HIS EARLY LIFE[1]

MISTRAL begins his memoirs by describing his native village and the home of his fathers: "As far back as I can remember, I had before my eyes, over yonder to the southward, a mountainous barrier whose crests, slopes, cliffs, and valleys wore from matins to vespers shifting, undulating hues of blue, now dark, now light, now dark again—the chain of the Alpilles girdled with olive-trees like the clustering rocks of Greece, a veritable belvedere of glorious legends. . . . My village, Maillane, occupies the middle of a large and rich plain, which, in memory, perhaps, of the consul Caius Marius, is still called Le Caieou. The old homestead in which I was born, fronting the Alpilles and touching the Clos-Crema, was called the *Mas du Juge*. It was a holding which required for its proper maintenance four yoke of oxen, a head driver, several plowmen, a shepherd, a domestic (whom we called 'the aunt'), a few workers hired by the month, and, in the busy seasons, many day-workers, male and female, for the care of the silkworms, the weeding, the haying, the harvesting, the vintage, the seed-sowing, or the olive-gathering."

Mistral's father, for whom he has such unbounded admiration that he usually refers to him as "the master" or "*mon seigneur père*," "was the last," to use Mistral's own language, "of the patriarchs of Provence." Though bluff and gruff to a degree, after the manner of the old-time paterfamilias of Provence, he was profoundly religious, and so hospitable and charitable withal that the poor added to their prayers at his funeral this petition: "May as many angels accompany him to heaven as he gave us loaves of bread!"

Mistral's account of his father's first meeting with his mother is almost Biblical in its beautiful simplicity, of which a translation can give but a vague idea:

One year, on the day of Saint John, Master François Mistral was in the midst of his wheat-fields, in which a band of reapers were mowing with sickles. A swarm of gleaners were following the rakers gathering up the ears which had escaped the rakes. Suddenly my *seigneur père* remarked a beautiful girl who stood aloof hesitating, as if she were afraid to glean like the others. He went towards her and said:

"Mignonne, who is your father? What is your name?"

The maiden answered:

"I am the daughter of Étienne Poulinet, the mayor of Maillane. My name is Délaide."

"What!" exclaimed my father, "the daughter of Poulinet, who is the mayor of Maillane, goes gleaning?"

"Master," she replied, "we are a large family, six girls and two boys, and our father, although he is well off, when we ask him for money to deck ourselves out with, says to us, 'My dears, if you want finery, earn it.' And that is why I have come to glean."

Six months after this meeting, which recalls the ancient scene of Ruth and Boaz, the gallant yeoman solicited the hand of Délaide from Master Poulinet, and I was born of this marriage.

The parents named the baby Frédéric in memory of a poor little fellow who had done their love-errands cleverly for them while they were "keeping company," and who had died of sunstroke shortly after their marriage.

When the mother took this baby out in her arms to the houses of the relatives and neighbors (in accordance with an old Provençal custom), two eggs, a hunch of bread, a pinch of salt, and a match were ceremoniously offered to him, with the following sacramental words: "Mignon, be plump as an egg, be good as bread, be wholesome as salt, be straight as a match." At six months of age, on St. Joseph's Day (in accordance with another old Provençal custom), this same baby was delivered from his swaddling-clothes, and, supported by leading-strings, was made to take his first steps upon the altar of St. Joseph in the village church, while his godmother chanted, "Avene, avene, avene!" ("Come, come, come!")

The two chief delights of Frédéric as a small boy were sharing the tasks of the farm-hands and listening to the

[1] *Mes Origines: Mémoires et Récits de Frédéric Mistral.* Plon-Nourrit et Cie, Paris.

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marvelous Provençal legends, religious and secular, which his good mother told him while she held him on her knees and spun.

The day before Christmas the little Frédéric did his little part in bringing in the Yule log, assisted at its benediction, and listened spellbound to the stories that were told before its blaze while the family were sitting up waiting for the midnight mass. On New Year's Day he aided in the distribution of bread to the poor which his father never failed to make. On the eve of Epiphany he set forth on the highroad with other toddlers in the hope of meeting "*Les Rois Mages*" (as the "Wise Men of the East" are called in France), who came annually to Maillane to worship the child Jesus; and in this quest he trudged up hill and down dale until he fancied he saw them in the fleeting pageantry of the sunset.

After a year or so in the village school, in which he distinguished himself chiefly by his truancies, Frédéric was sent to a boarding-school in a ruined abbey perched high among the mountains, where he and his companions led a half-savage existence, to the great profit of their constitutions and imaginations if not of their book-learning. "After a little," Mistral says of his sojourn at this school, "we became wild, *ma foi!* as a litter of game rabbits. . . . The heights round about were covered with thyme, with rosemary, with asphodel, with box, and with lavender. . . . The odor which rose from them under the sun's rays intoxicated us. . . . The study hour over, we fluttered away like partridges up the hills and across the valleys."

From his next boarding-school, in the city of Avignon, Frédéric ran away home because his yearning for the open became more than he could bear.

In his last boarding-school (likewise at Avignon), one of his teachers was Roumanille, a Provençal poet who encouraged the poetic ambition the boy was beginning to feel stirring within him, and inspired him with a mighty yearning to restore the lost prestige of the language of Provence. Thereafter he took more kindly to study, and when he had finished his education at the Law School of Aix he deliberately returned for good and all to Maillane, firmly resolved to consecrate himself exclusively to the rejuvenation and exaltation of Provence. It seemed to him that his love of nature and of simple, unspoiled human nature could nowhere be gratified so fully as in the primitive atmosphere of his native village, where he could witness, and play a part in, "the majestic movements of agriculture, eternally hard, but eternally independent and calm."

Mistral offers the rare and edifying spectacle of a life in perfect harmony with his creative work. Indifferent to the allurements of the French capital, he has remained faithful to his mission as he has conceived it, and by this loyalty to an ideal he has become not only the pride and the glory of Provence, but one of the first men of France.

Comment on Current Books

Actual Russia What is a verst? Who are isvoschiks? We look in vain for a glossary to explain the interesting text in this well printed, illustrated, and mapped book, brimful of little-known facts about Russian towns. For example, as showing German influence, the author instances the town of Yaroslav, which boasts of possessing more millionaire tradesmen than any other town in Russia; all of its best posts of the intellectual kind are filled without exception by Germans. As to Kishinev, a name always to be associated with a frightful massacre, the author says: "It is as untrue that the atrocities which horrified the world were sanctioned by the Russians as a nation, as it is untrue that the American nation lynched and burned its negroes at the stake. . . . But Russia must not drive her Jews away, nor must she try to stop their advance or turn them into Nihilists. *They are a necessary element of her own prosperity* [the italics are our own]. They are like the sharp tool indispensable to the skilled workman, but ready to cut like a razor if not handled properly." The author's description of persons is not so prominent as her description of places, but there are occasional piquant

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anecdotes; for instance, that about the vases in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. The vases were once sent by Emperor Alexander I. as a present to the Tycoon of Japan, but returned by the latter with the announcement that "it is impossible for the Tycoon to accept a present from an inferior." As is appropriate, the author of that clever sketch of the Trans-Siberian Railway, "A Ribbon of Iron," dedicates her present volume to Prince Khilhov, who is regrettably enough now only the *ex* Minister of Ways and Communications in Russia. (Russia: Travels and Studies. By Annette M. B. Meakin. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $4, net.)

Advice to Investors On this subject an abundance of good counsel is here given to a class of people the majority of whom need it. The book is packed with information concerning rates of interest, stocks and bonds, cycles of prosperity and depression, signs of fair weather and foul, critical points, when to buy and when to sell. Mr. Hall desires to safeguard the interests of honest investors exposed to "operators" who go gunning for them, and he warns the reader as to certain pirates who infest Wall Street, several of whom he names. It is a good service to chart and light the navigable waters of a legitimate business endangered by buccaneers as well as by hidden reefs and shoals. The point open to serious criticism is likely to occur to any conscience that is both reflective and scrupulous. The title-page, "A Fortune at Fifty-five," points toward it. The second chapter brings it to the front, showing how a young man with $1,000 in hand may make it $1,000,000 at middle age by buying good securities cheap and selling them dear. To buy for less and sell for more is perfectly legitimate in a market in normal conditions. But to buy cheap and sell dear in a market whose normal conditions are disturbed, *regardless of the causes* of cheapness and dearness, no scrupulous conscience will approve. And Mr. Hall states that the security market is "not left to itself," but is unscrupulously interfered with by "manipulators." He has apparently not reflected that his recommendation to investors to avail themselves of the gainful opportunities so created is simply advice to profit by other men's dishonorable methods. (How Money is Made in Security Investments. By Henry Hall. Address Orders to Author, 52 Broadway, New York. $1.50.)

Balboa The capital series of "Heroes of American History" already comprises accounts of Columbus, Cortés, Pizarro, and Ferdinand de Soto. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa is the appropriate subject of a new volume, for Balboa was perhaps the most high-minded and generous of all the Spanish-American soldiers of fortune. It is strange that less seems to have been written about him than about any other explorer in his class except Ponce de Leon. As Mr. Ober says, both these names are familiar to every student of history, both are well known even to the casual reader, but both have been neglected by the biographer. Young and old readers alike should be interested in the present volume, especially in its chief dramatic episode, the discovery of the Pacific. (Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. By Frederick A. Ober. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50, net.)

The Coming of the Saints The beginnings of Christianity in western Europe no historian has recorded. The silences of history are in the present volume filled in with the voices and echoes of tradition. Of these, skillful use has been made in this volume, in which the kernel of truth is critically sought for under the husk of legend. The book of Acts testifies (viii. 4) to a missionary dispersion of Christians resulting from their persecution in Judea. Paul arriving at Rome found a church already there. Among the pioneers in France tradition includes the sisters of Bethany and their brother Lazarus. What is of special interest to us, the tradition which attributes to the Joseph in whose tomb Jesus was laid the planting of Christianity where Glastonbury Abbey stands, is as strongly supported as any. As to this, the author sees significance in the names of Hebrew origin which are prominent in the stories of the Arthurian knights localized in that part of England, and in the "marked and undeniable" traces of Jews in Cornwall. When he takes into account the fame which for centuries has attracted toilsome pilgrimages to spots associated with the names of reputed Christian path-breakers into heathendom, it is difficult to deny that historical fact lies somewhere between utter rejection of the traditions and entire acceptance of them. These "studies in early Christian history and tradition" are marked by ample learning and good judgment, and afford ground enough for the religious imagination to indulge in some reconstruction of the unrecorded past. (The Coming of the Saints. By John W. Taylor. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.)

Comparative Ethics This substantial work by a former tutor and fellow of Oxford exhibits as the basis of a theory of moral evolution the rules of conduct and ideals of life that have obtained

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in the successive stages of moral development. The first volume reviews forms of social organization, ideals and practices in the fields of law and justice, of relations between the sexes, communities, and classes, and finally of property and poverty—thus presenting a history of advancing conceptions of good in a comparative point of view. The second volume is devoted to a history of the growth of ideas concerning the grounds of morality, and of the religious, scientific, and other elements affecting them. These historical facts being common property, one is not concerned with them here, however interesting, but with the generalizations based upon them. The reality they reveal is regarded "neither as a providentially ruled order, nor as a process of fortuitous combinations and dissolutions, but as the movement towards self-realization of a mind appearing under rigidly limited conditions of physical organization in countless organisms, and arriving for the first time at a partial unity in the consciousness of a common humanity with a common aim." Furthermore, "in this conception of a self-directing humanity lies the basis of scientific ethics." And this humanity is not merely the totality of human beings, not an aggregation, but an organism and its animating spirit, "a spirit subject to conditions, and achieving its full growth only by mastering them." But whence is this spirit of humanity does not appear. What it is is apparent only in its synonym "mind." Evidently it has only in modern times come to self-consciousness, and is still an infant crying for the light. In the long historic development no ultimate purposiveness is recognized; on the contrary, "the disorders and reactions of history are fatal to a purely teleological view of the world process." Thus the immanent mind which so slowly comes to self-consciousness in humanity is left, like Melchizedek, without a progenitor. The apparently non-theistic philosophy of moral evolution which ends thus is a torso, all complete but the head. (Morals in Evolution. By L. T. Hobhouse. Part I. and II. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $2.50, net.)

Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

The publication of Volumes XI. and XII. complete this very important and satisfactory work, which bears the name of The Gettysburg Edition. Volume XI. includes a speech of General Garfield on "Lincoln and Emancipation," a collection of letters and telegrams, the draft of a message which was never made public, and an indexed bibliography compiled by Mr. Daniel Fish, occupying nearly 240 pages, and of great value to students of Lincoln. Volume XII. presents an anthology of Lincoln's sayings, a chronological index, and a general index of all the volumes. These two volumes bring to an end a publication of permanent value, not only in American political history, but to American literature. (Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln. Edited by John G. Nicolay and John Hay. New and Enlarged Edition. Vols. XI. and XII. Francis D. Tandy Company, New York.)

Dr. John

Mr. Wardlaw Thompson tells us in his interesting volume some remarkable facts concerning that veteran missionary in China, Dr. Griffith John. It is notable that Dr. John has been able to overcome what might seem to normalists a possible handicap, namely, a very precocious religious life. At the tender age of eight he felt a conviction of sin. While a mere lad he became a Sunday-school teacher, and at fourteen a preacher. It is almost a relief to us to know that Dr. John himself acknowledges preaching at the age of fourteen to have been a failure. Nothing daunted, however, he began again at the age of sixteen, and now with apparent success. When he was twenty-two years old, he went to China, and has labored there ever since. While the book affords a glimpse of an interesting personality, its chief value to many may be found in its account of actual conditions in China, with special reference to the opium traffic, to the power of Confucianism, and to linguistic difficulties. Dr. John can certainly speak with authority as to all of these subjects, especially the last named, since his most important occupation has been in translating the Bible. In this, as in other tasks, we are given to understand that he has attempted a middle course between classical Chinese and the colloquial language, and that the result has justified that course. (Griffith John: The Story of Fifty Years in China. By R. Wardlaw Thompson. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. $1.50, net.)

The Eastern Church

Whether Greek, Russian, Balkan, or Syro-Arabian, the Eastern Church is of increasing interest to us. On the historical side this is evident in the greater attention paid by students of Church history to that curious quarrel which finally, in 1054, severed the Orthodox or Eastern Catholics from all Trinitarians, especially from the Roman or Western Catholics. On the practical side the interest is heightened by the presence in America of startlingly augmented numbers of Greeks, Russians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Montenegrins, Serbs, and Syrians. The children of these immigrants are, as a rule, reared in our public schools, and it is often difficult to teach them the services of their Church in the languages of their parents,

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and still more so in old Slavonic or old Greek. The adoption of the English language in those services seems the sole solution of the problem of ministering to the wants of parishes whose members represent many Slav tongues and dialects, and where the children are being educated in the language of their parents' adopted country. Indeed, the policy of the Russian Church—now a thousand years old, and numbering nine-tenths of the hundred million members of the Eastern Church—has been to have its services celebrated in the tongues spoken in the lands inhabited by its members. Hence it is desired eventually to make English the language, in this country, of the many adherents of that Church. Under these circumstances the appearance of the Service Book, translated and compiled by Isabel Florence Hapgood and collated by her with the Service Books of the Greek Church, is timely. Her well printed and bound volume, a model of its kind, emphasizes the interesting and impressive features of the Eastern Church, whether one attends its services in Russia or Greece, Rumania or Servia or Syria. Following the Jewish pattern, the Eastern Church reckons its day from sunset. Hence worship begins with the Evening Service. This typifies Old Testament times as foreshadowing Christ, and precedes the liturgy of the morning, wherein Christ's life is symbolized. The present volume contains the order of services as prescribed for vespers, compline, matins, the communion, the great feasts, ordination, marriage, unction, "the Office at the Parting of the Soul from the Body," the burial of the dead, requiem offices, services for the founding and consecration of churches, thanksgivings, and various special prayers. The language of the prayers and in the liturgies is generally inspiring and often sublime; the translation is evidently vigorous. For the Scripture lessons, as translated into English, the King James's Version is used, and for the "Psalms and Verses" the Prayer-Book version of the Psalter. The Psalms should thus become more impressive than ever, chanted as they are by male voices only and without any instrumental music. The present volume affords a welcome survey of the events of the Russian Church year, of which the great feasts include Christmas and Easter, of course, and Epiphany, Transfiguration, Palm Sunday, Ascension, Pentecost, the Birth, Presentation, Annunciation, Purification, and Assumption of Mary, "the Birth-giver of God," and finally "the Exaltation of the Precious and Life-giving Cross." There are many lesser feasts. The uninitiated will appreciate Miss Hapgood's interesting prefatory chapter and various helpful notes on Eastern ecclesiastical symbolism; for instance, a single domed temple is a symbol of the Great Head of the Church; three domes typify the three Persons of the Trinity, and five symbolize Christ and the four Evangelists. Again, the lights always used in the Eastern Church, even if the service be performed in full sunlight, are "to show that the Lord, who dwells in light ineffable, illumines the world with spiritual radiance; to denote that the hearts of faithful believers are warmed by a flame of love toward God and his Saints; and also to show forth the spiritual joy and the triumph of the Church." Thus this laudable volume should be of value, not only to American ecclesiastics and their congregations, but also to students of liturgies and to sojourners in the various lands where the Eastern Church exists, and to all who would become better acquainted with its undeniable majesty, impressiveness, and exquisite symbolism of ritual. (Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic (Greco-Russian) Church. Compiled, Translated, and Arranged by Isabel Florence Hapgood. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $4, net.)

German Religious Life

In his admirable "History of American Christianity" Dr. L. W. Bacon has done justice to the early life of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches planted here by colonists from Germany. With their colonial history, here given in somewhat larger detail, this volume gives an ample account of the earlier coming of the sects which had separated from the State Churches of Germany, as the Mayflower Pilgrims had separated from the Church of England. Of these the Mennonites, formerly known as Anabaptists, planted Germantown in 1683, and somewhat later came the first congregation of Dunkers (signifying, in German, immersionists). To the Mennonites is due the distinction of being the first protestants against American slavery. From the Dunker press came in 1745 the first Bible printed in this country in a European tongue. Sympathetically is the story of these "picturesque, mystical, pious folk" related, but with an expression of relief at ending the account of "ignorant and narrow-minded disputants, of pathetic or wrong-headed saints or solitaries." These, says Dr. Bacon, "furnished the material for that curious 'Pennsylvania Dutch' population which for more than two centuries has lain encysted, so to speak, in the body politic and ecclesiastic." The Moravians, the Methodists, and the German Churches during the Revolution are worthily commemorated in the

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concluding chapters of this interesting narrative. (German Religious Life in Colonial Times. By Lucy Forney Bittinger. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.)

The Heart of a Woman A recent magazine article called attention to the nude in autobiography. The soul that yearns to expose its innermost recesses to our gaze is ever with us—filling the discreet with amazement. While there is nothing in the least objectionable in the Heart disclosing itself in these verses, there is also nothing of special value. The lines are of easy, rippling quality, and the sentiment is perhaps as perfectly exemplified in the poem called Prayer as in any one of the collection. Real passion never babbles. (The Heart of a Woman. By Almon Hensley. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.)

A New Hampshire Politician The biography of the late Senator Rollins involves the political history of New Hampshire for the eventful period of nearly thirty years subsequent to the birth of the Republican party. In that party he was a standard-bearer, and earned its rewards in preferment to public trusts, three times as a member of the House and once as Senator at Washington. A man of high probity, energy, and capacity, his Senatorial career would doubtless have been longer, as it deserved to be, but in New Hampshire the predilection for rotation in office, and certain personal ambitions, prevented. This memorial of his life is well deserved. In general, as presenting the political story of a generation that has just passed off the stage, it exhibits in the predominance of local and personal above National interests the adolescent stage of politics, from which more graduates into statesmanship are needed for the country's welfare. In the sketch given of Ruel Durkee readers of "Coniston" will recognize the prototype of Jethro Bass. (Life of Edward H. Rollins: A Political Biography. By James O. Lyford. Dana Estes & Co., Boston.)

Pioneer Promoters In the many volumes composing his "Historic Highways of America" Mr. Archer Butler Hulbert has deserved well of students of American geography and history. In the present single volume he again lays them under tribute. His province is still largely the same, a description of the doings of our early pioneer-promoters, but in this particular book he confines himself to the Middle West. The graphic quality of his text is heightened by a number of effective illustrations, mostly portraits, as is appropriate in a volume the consecutive chapters of which consider Washington, the promoter of Western investment; Richard Henderson, the founder of Transylvania; Rufus Putnam, the father of Ohio; George Rogers Clark, the founder of Louisville; Henry Clay, the promoter of the first American highway; Morris and Clinton, the fathers of the Erie Canal; Thomas and Mercer, rival promoters of canals and railways; Lewis and Clark, leaders of the expedition to the Far West, and also explorers of Louisiana; John Jacob Astor, the promoter of Astoria; and, finally, Marcus Whitman, the hero of Oregon. The book is a direct and forceful contribution to American history, and is well printed, as its text merits. (Pilots of the Republic. By Archer Butler Hulbert. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.)

Principles of English Verse Professor Lewis announces in his preface that his little book is designed chiefly for "general readers." It ought to be in the hands of lovers of poetry who are not entirely familiar with the technical forms of the different kinds of verse which give them pleasure. English meters are in certain respects extremely complicated; but, as Professor Lewis says, their fundamental principles are simple; and in this compact and easily read volume, in untechnical language, the various kinds of meter are described with sufficient fullness and illustration to give the intelligent lover of poetry all the information he needs and to furnish also an excellent textbook. (The Principles of English Verse. By Charlton M. Lewis. Henry Holt & Co., New York.)

A Prophet Abroad The first impression one receives from Mr. Wells's book upon America is that our only hope is the speedy coming of "The Day of the Comet" (Mr. Wells's Comet) to change us in every particular. Upon second thought, however, the modest disclaimers of the author, his realization that in three months he cannot know all about our land and people, and his keenness in pointing out undoubted defects, call for serious attention. While longer acquaintance would undoubtedly alter Mr. Wells's sense of proportion and emphasis, yet in many ways he shows himself a sympathetic if often a severe critic. He came here to search for realities. He failed to find men, with one or two exceptions, who were willing to discuss the future of America except in a rhetorical or facetiously disgusted way. He found that the typical American had a distrust of lucid theories and logic, talking unwillingly of ideas—but thinking. He is extremely acute and often witty in describing the different social atmospheres of our cities. Boston especially

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attracts his pungent pen—and New York is not neglected. "Boston," he says, "presents a terrible, terrifying unanimity of æsthetic discriminations." The question in Mr. Wells's mind remains, "Is America a giant childhood, or a gigantic futility?" On the whole, he is inclined to believe that, by sheer virtue of size, free traditions, and the habit of initiative, the leadership of progress must ultimately rest in America. The book is full of quotable sentences, and nothing could prove the actual maturity of the American people better than the interest and good nature we feel in just such inadequate representations of our country as this is. (The Future in America. By H. G. Wells. Harper & Brothers, New York. $2, net.)

St. Catherine of Siena Few figures of the fourteenth century stand out so clearly as does the heroic figure of St. Catherine of Siena. The author of "Mademoiselle Mori" makes us realize this, though, in general, it must be owned that none too picturesque phrase is used to this end. In successive chapters we are informed about Catherine as peacemaker, as politician, and as ambassadress, about her life in Siena, Avignon, Florence, and Rome. Sometimes there is a fine bit of characterization; for instance, "Although Dante praises Dominic, he clearly prefers Francis. But Catherine was a woman, and the robuster character of the Spanish monk (Dominic) appealed to her." The interesting illustrations are taken from portraits and pictures by Sienese and other painters. (Saint Catherine of Siena and Her Times. By the Author of "Mademoiselle Mori." G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.75.)

Souls of Cities Rome, Venice, Seville—do not these names evoke visions of cities that are something more than cities? They have personalities, they have souls and temperaments. We love to be in them and breathe their atmosphere and their rich, varied, individual life. They give themselves to us if we but sojourn in them long enough and submit to their charm. Mr. Symons journeys from city to city; he sees those above mentioned; he also sees and sojourns in Naples, Prague, Moscow, Budapest, Belgrade, Sofia, Constantinople. Some of these he loves; some he hates. In both cases he tells us why and with frank thoroughness. His very moods and his emotional bursts of confidence, his visions and ideals, sink gratefully into the reader's mind, for the reader is very apt to have formed something of the same opinion. Whether or not Mr. Symons evokes personal memories in the reader's mind of the cities described, his book is one of the few which one dares to put alongside Hawthorne's note-books on England, France, and Italy, Lafcadio Hearn's books on Japan, Mrs. Wharton's "Italian Backgrounds," and Vernon Lee's "Spirit of Rome"—books that are hardly for the tourist, unless the tourist becomes a sojourner. (Cities. By Arthur Symons. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.50, net.)

Tibet The long despatch from Dr. Sven Hedin in Tibet, printed in recent newspapers and recounting his latest discoveries there, lends added interest to a reperusal of the important books already published describing that part of the world; for instance, Reid's "Through Unexplored Asia," Dr. Landsdell's "Chinese Eastern Asia," Dr. Hedin's "Central Asia and Tibet," Crosby's "Turkestan and Tibet," Deasy's "In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan," and Colonel Waddell's "Lhasa." Mr. Holdich's volume is the latest addition to the list. "Tibet the Mysterious" has little to do with Lhasa. Instead it interestingly describes the exploration of the great wilderness of stony and inhospitable altitudes which lie far beyond the capital in a hitherto practically unknown region. (Tibet the Mysterious. By Colonel Sir Thomas H. Holdich, K.C.M.G. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. $3, net. Postage 20 cents.)

William Blake Ideas about art, literature, politics, religion, and life are generally expressed in familiar correspondence with a simplicity, clearness, and personal atmosphere hardly to be found in more formal writing. Take the letters of Stevenson or of John Richard Green as examples. If any man's work in art and literature needs the illumination of his personality, it is William Blake's. His pictures and poems seem to us generally strange, often occult, sometimes incoherent, yet ever and anon evincing a vein of sound reason and of inspiring ideal. Blake's ideal was sublime. It was nothing less than the union of the Divine through Art and Love. But Blake's methods were eccentric. To understand them we should regard him as a Celt rather than as an Englishman. If so, we can better appreciate his works, explained as they are by the spontaneous, unreflective, impetuous letters now published in connection with Blake's biography by Frederick Tatham. Tatham was Blake's most intimate friend, seeing him continually and enjoying unique opportunities for gathering reliable material for a biography. That biography, written long ago (Blake died in 1827), is now published in full for the first time as printed from the original manuscripts. The account

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lacks both scholarship and grace, but these are supplied by Mr. Archibald Russell's valuable introduction and notes. From them we gain a juster perspective than Tatham gives, perhaps even than the late Dr. Garnett gave in his valuable monograph, and possibly a more comprehensive view than Mr. Swinburne gives. A new edition of the long critical essay on Blake by Mr. Swinburne is published coincidently with the Tatham life, a criticism of course specially stimulating in its treatment of Blake's poems rather than of his pictures. Blake and Rossetti were the only two English artists equally distinguished in poetry and painting. (The Letters of William Blake: Together with a Life by Frederick Tatham. Edited by Archibald G. B. Russell. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2, net.—William Blake. By Algernon Charles Swinburne. A New Edition. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2, net.)

Letters to The Outlook

A DISTINCTION AND A DIFFERENCE

The Cleveland street railway situation received a large measure of attention in The Outlook of February 2. But if I may claim the privilege of a rejoinder, I should like to point to a misconception which accounts for an apparent disagreement between the author of the article entitled "Private Rights in Street Railways" and the writer of the editorial comment entitled "Public Rights in Street Railways."

The editorial is an admirable statement of an issue of first importance. The Outlook's advocacy of the proposition that the streets of a municipality and the traffic thereon must be controlled by the people of the municipality has my entire support, though we might not agree as to how this control should be exercised. But this is not the question I was discussing in the article referred to. The Cleveland controversy is undoubtedly a phase of the conflict to which The Outlook refers. But it no more follows that the work Mr. Johnson is doing is for the best interests of the citizens of Cleveland or the larger public because he says it is, than that Mr. Hearst labored for the best interests of the citizens of New York and for the cause of municipal ownership because he echoed a popular cry and claimed to stand on the side of the people. My main argument is not, as stated in the editorial, that I believe the people of Cleveland ought to trust their interests in the streets to Mr. Andrews and his colleagues rather than to Mr. Johnson and his associates, because Mr. Johnson's record is open to suspicion and Mr. Andrews is a man of probity. Such a conclusion is, of course, clearly illogical. I do not know where one will find in my article any justification for such an interpretation. My contention is simply that Mayor Johnson's financial interest in one of the competing companies, and the kind of thing he has done, reveal his real purpose better than anything he said, just as Mr. Hearst's financial interest in his newspapers and the kind of thing he has done are better evidence of his interest in the public's welfare than his words. What Mayor Johnson has done is contrary to clearly established principles governing the conduct of public officials, and to condone the offense because the result may be beneficial to the material interests of the city tends to weaken the public conscience by encouraging the belief that the end justifies the means. Of course I know that The Outlook advocates this teaching no more than I advocate control of the streets by private interests.

H. A. GARFIELD.
Princeton University.

[The contest in Cleveland was not a theoretical one; it was one between the Mayor representing the people and a private company which had in certain periods of its history corruptly procured control of the streets. To lay emphasis, in this very definite struggle, on an alleged technical irregularity of the Mayor, and to ignore the corrupt and perhaps extortionate foundation upon which the rights of the private company rested, was, in our judgment, inconsistent with the general public policy of which Mr. Garfield has always been an effective advocate.—THE EDITORS.]

WALT WHITMAN

I.

I have read with interest your review of Mr. Perry's "Whitman." It is the first really sane and critical article on Whitman that I have seen for a long time. My father lived next door to Walt Whitman in Camden for many years, and part of the time I was at home and knew the poet very well.

You are quite right in describing him as a *poseur*. The style of his dress, his open, wide-collared shirt, his attitude toward the public, were all, in my opinion, poses. His

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moral character was as you state it, and my family say that he morally injured some young men that they knew.

Whitman had a kindly disposition, and used to give mittens in the winter to the ferry hands and car drivers and conductors. One of his favorite amusements was to ride back and forth on the ferryboats, where he presented a very picturesque appearance. He lived very carelessly, and in one corner of his room was an immense heap of newspapers and magazines reaching almost to the ceiling.

In my opinion, much of his poetry was not thought to be inspired even by himself, but was written to eke out an existence, as there was a demand, especially in England, for something believed to be characteristically American, and so he wrote it to suit. I also knew several of his admirers who have written about him. One of them has attained, as nearly as any one in recent times, to the rank of a "Boswell." But the democracy about whom he wrote and for whom he wrote cared nothing for his poetry, and this, to my mind, shows the complete failure to strike the keynote of democratic feeling.

I think that your article will do much good in counteracting the strange worship of Whitman. W. E. BUTTON.

Frankford, Philadelphia.

II.

I am ashamed of The Outlook and ashamed of Bliss Perry, whom I have known for years, to so slur over the foulness of that brute beast, Walter Whitman. Too idle and helpless to earn his own living, consorting with the toughs and bums of this city and Camden, spending all his last days with a "buxom widow" as housekeeper, the father of six illegitimate children, the destroyer of two homes at least, not one honorable act or sentiment to his credit, it gives one a moral nausea to hear reputable periodicals and decent people mention his name with the least degree of allowance. He should have been shoveled into the earth without ceremony, and all his belongings, personal, household, and literary, burned over him to clear the earth as far as possible of his malodorous name. How long, O Lord, before we can hear one word of sanity and decency from our leading periodicals respecting such brute beasts who happen to have some little smartness in trick literature!

Philadelphia. JAMES H. ECOB.

NOISELESS BRIDGES

In regard to the "Noiseless Bridges" communication of A. Chamberlain, Winchester, Massachusetts, in The Outlook of February 2, I beg to say that General Baneroft (the President of the Boston Elevated Railroad Company), in an address last year to the students of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said, in effect, that an elevated railway could be made noiseless by the use of ballast, as is shown conclusively by the Berlin Elevated, but that it was not practicable to use ballast in the northern part of the United States because it would afford lodgment for the snow that now sifts through.

A. R. H.

Abington, Massachusetts.

A SUCCESSFUL NEGRO SCHOOL

Your donation of $10 means $80 to the Slater Industrial School for colored people at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. This school is perhaps yielding better results than any similar institution in the entire South. Its influence has totally and absolutely eliminated all race spirit in its vicinity. The school buildings and grounds are worth $50,000. The white people raised $10,000 cash for a hospital for the negroes, and they did the labor free; thus they have an up-to-date hospital for their sick, in which colored girls are also graduated as trained nurses.

The harmonizing effect of the school and hospital is certainly beyond description, which is proof positive that this is the true solution of the great race problem. The entire institution is under the able management of the People's National Bank, one of the largest banks in the State. The State and county contribute $5,500 yearly, and the Slater Peabody Funds $1,200 yearly, to the maintenance of the institution.

Owing to the marvelous effect of the school and hospital upon the colored race, the State now offers $12,000 in addition to the yearly grant if the trustees will raise the same amount. With $24,000 cash in hand for material, the colored people will do the labor free, as they did in building the hospital, thus increasing the value of the plant to $48,000. A New York City philanthropist will give half of the $12,000 when the other half is raised, hence the raising of $6,000 means $48,000 to the institution.

Seldom do we see an altruistic donation multiply eight times when it becomes bricks and mortar, as in this case.

The race question is a National problem and a serious one, too, which every true American citizen is keenly interested in helping to solve. This school and hospital are doing a great work along these lines, and it is very imperative that the capacity be increased.

If every one who reads this letter will send a contribution to the treasurer, Colonel

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W. A. Blair, President of the People's National Bank, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, we assure them it will be of large service.

57 Broadway, New York. J. P. R.

MORMONISM IN IDAHO

I quote a paragraph from an article which appeared in your valuable magazine under date of December 29, 1906:

> In Idaho, where of course there was no church influence, the results tell an interesting story. It must be understood that the northern counties are Gentile while the southern counties are Mormon. The great battle was as to whether Senator Dubois, Democrat, who has been very active in combating the political schemes of the Mormons in Idaho, should succeed himself in the United States Senate. Now the northern counties of Idaho went Democratic by small majorities, while the southern and Mormon counties went Republican by immense majorities. A clear line of cleavage runs across Idaho. On one side of that line the people vote one way, on the other side another way. There is only one thing to explain this fact. On one side of this line the Mormon Church dictates how its adherents vote; on the other side the Mormon hierarchy does not control, and American methods and results obtain.

The above does a great injustice to a State. Should a condition of affairs exist such as indicated above, it would be deplorable in the extreme. I have no right to assume that the writer of this article willfully sought to misrepresent the facts, and yet it is difficult to understand how one could assume to inform the public upon a subject about which he was so woefully ignorant. He does not seem to know even the geography of the State, much less its politics, and a most casual investigation of the results of the last campaign will disclose the utter falsity of the facts above set forth.

It is true that the Northern counties are Gentile, but it is not true that the Southern counties are Mormon counties. At least six of the Southern counties are exclusively Gentile counties.

It is true that one of the principal questions of the campaign was whether Senator Dubois should be returned to the United States Senate, but it is absolutely false that, as we are given to understand from this article, he carried the Northern counties or the Gentile counties. And it is equally false that a line of cleavage runs through Idaho, upon one side of which was found the vote for Senator Dubois and upon the other side against him by reason of Mormon dictation.

Senator Dubois did not carry a single Gentile county in the north. He carried one member in one county and three in another, out of a total membership of twenty-three in the Legislature. The county in which he carried the three members has always been a Democratic county, with one exception, and that was the Presidential year in which Roosevelt was a candidate.

Coming to the Southern counties, he carried but one Gentile county in the South, which county has very generally been Democratic in off years. For illustration, in Ada County, where the Mormon question has been more thoroughly discussed than in any other county in the State, and which is exclusively Gentile, the Republican candidate for Governor lost the county by some five hundred, while the Republican legislative ticket was elected by from twenty-one hundred to twenty-five hundred. If the issue of Mormonism prevailed at all in the State, it was upon the Senatorial matter. Elmore County, a Gentile county and also a Democratic county, nevertheless returned one member out of two, Republican. Owyhee County, a Gentile county and also a Democratic county generally speaking, returned one member out of two, Republican. In other words, in the exclusively Gentile counties the Republicans elected thirty-two members and the Democrats eighteen. If there is a line of cleavage in Idaho, the question arises, Where is the line located? There is one thing that is positively certain, and that is that it is not between the Gentile and Mormon counties; and the writer of the above-mentioned article could have known that had he desired to have been informed before he communicated his exceptionally valuable article to the public.

Had it not been for some factional difficulties in the Republican party which arose entirely outside of the Mormon question and which were due entirely to local conditions, the Democrats would not have had to exceed five members of the Legislature. The only counties in which we lost Republican members of the Legislature where we should have elected were those counties in which local factional troubles prevailed. I believe that every well-informed man, regardless of politics, will admit, should he speak candidly, that there were not five hundred votes changed in North Idaho by reason of the Mormon question. W. E. BOROH.

Boise, Idaho.

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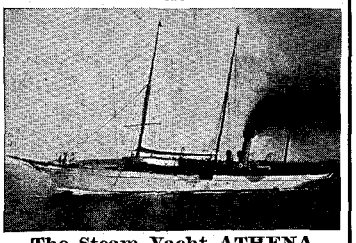

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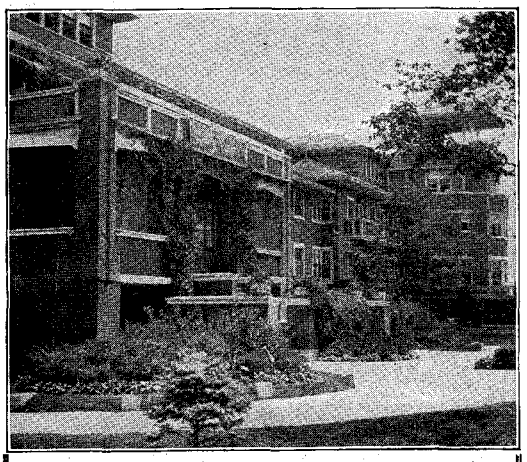

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